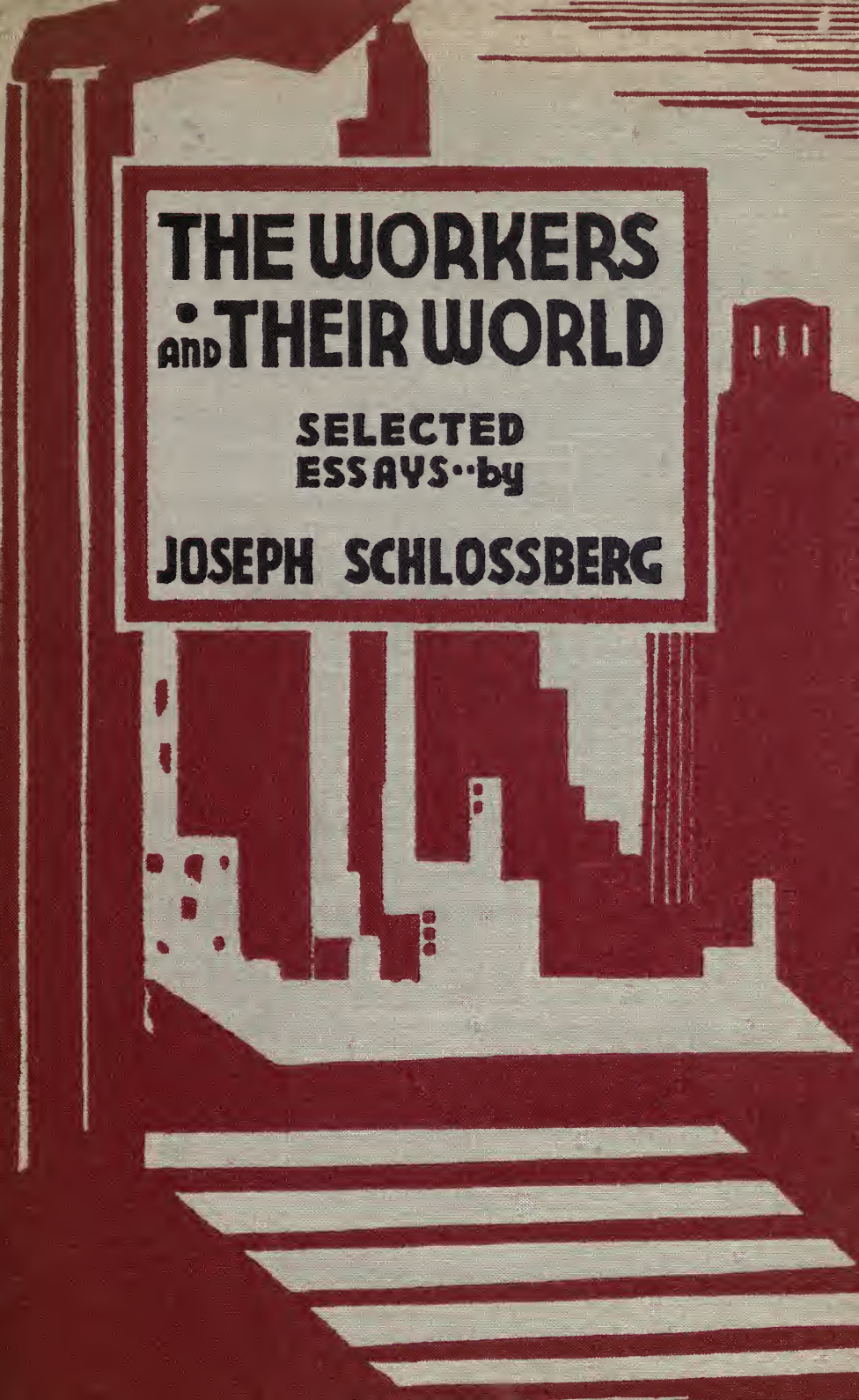
THE WORKERS AND THEIR WORLD

SELECTED ESSAYS · · by

JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG



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To
Gregory J. Bardacke.

A colleague on the
Labor frontier in the
United States and Israel.

Joseph Schwarberg

New York, March 9, 1953.

THE WORKERS AND THEIR WORLD

Aspects of the Workers' Struggle at Home and Abroad

THE WORKERS *and* THEIR WORLD

Aspects of the Workers' Struggle at Home and Abroad

SELECTED ESSAYS BY
JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Published by A·L·P·Committee
NEW YORK : 1935

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SET UP, PRINTED, AND BOUND BY UNION LABOR

55

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

THIS *volume has been published on the initiative of Local 25, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, of which Joseph Schlossberg, the author, is a member. Cooperating with the committee were representative members of other local organizations of the Amalgamated in New York City, headed by their Joint Board. The project was undertaken in connection with the celebration of Mr. Schlossberg's sixtieth birthday.*

The book is made up of essays chosen from Mr. Schlossberg's writings over the period of twenty years that he has held the position of general secretary in the clothing workers' union. Selections from the great wealth of material available have been made with a view to bringing into prominence articles directly or indirectly relevant to present times and issues. However, the reader should bear in mind the date of writing, which is appended at the conclusion of each article. In addition to the short subjects, which have appeared in The Advance, *the union's central publication, Mr. Schlossberg has at the committee's request written a semi-biographical sketch in which he presents the leading ideas which inspired his course throughout his years of stewardship in the union. This section appears as Part Three.*

The committee feels certain that the collection in permanent form will be of value to the many who have followed Mr. Schlossberg's writings through the years, and of undoubted interest to those who have not been acquainted with the varied and purposeful activities of his long career in the labor movement.

CONTENTS

THE WORKERS AND THEIR WORLD

		PAGE
	PART I: LABOR PROBLEMS, ISSUES, GOALS, PERSONALITIES—AT HOME	13
1.	The Logic of Solidarity	15
2.	The Nature of Unity	18
3.	Realities of the Struggle of Classes—I	22
4.	Realities of the Struggle of Classes—II	26
5.	The Right to Strike Is Basic	29
6.	Unemployment and the Union	35
7.	Work Assurance and Insurance	39
8.	The Menace of Child Labor	44
9.	Names for Wages	48
10.	The Injunction	52
11.	Labor and the World War	58
12.	Labor and the Next War	63
13.	Labor a Power in Minnesota	67
14.	Labor's Martyrs: Sacco and Vanzetti	71
15.	Tom Mooney, the Measure of Our Social Progress	74
16.	William D. Haywood—a Tragedy	78
17.	Daniel De Leon—a Pathfinder	83
18.	E. V. Debs—Great American Rebel	90
19.	Factionalism—Old and New	95
20.	Factionalism: Leadership and other Catchwords	102

PAGE

PART II: LABOR DEVELOPMENTS, PROBLEMS AND PERSONALITIES—ABROAD 107

21. Labor in Germany of 1931 109
22. Hitlerism—Germany after 1932 115
23. Italy: Red and Black 123
24. Serrati, Leader and Man 131
25. Labor Politics in Canada 134
26. The British Labor Government 139
27. H. M. Hyndman—British Socialist Pioneer 143
28. Old Russia and a New World 147
29. On a Mission of Internationalism 152

PART III: AFTER FORTY-FIVE YEARS—REVIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES 157

After Forty-Five Years 159
Joining the Labor Movement 164
Factionalism and Dual Unionism 167
Labor Movement Ethics 173
From the Labor Scene in the 90's 174
The Level of Trade Unions 177
Labor Leadership 181
Vital Labor Movement Issues 184
A Brief Review 188
Duty Calls Again 191
Here Comes the Amalgamated 196
NRA and Labor 202
Why a Labor Party? 206
Conclusion 213

TODAY EVEN AS ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

In 1834, six English land workers, in the village of Tolpuddle, in Dorset, were transported to penal colonies in Australia for the crime of organizing a trade union of agricultural workers. When pronouncing sentence, the judge said that the exile for seven years—the highest penalty under the law—was intended not only as a punishment for the prisoners but also as a warning for others.

The names of these early sufferers in the labor union cause were:

George Loveless, 37 years old when arrested, married and had three children.

James Loveless, brother of George, 25 years old, married and had two children.

Thomas Standfield, brother-in-law of George, and James Loveless, 44 years old, married, had six children.

John Standfield, son of Thomas Standfield, and nephew of George and James Loveless, 21 years old, unmarried.

James Hammett, 22 years old, married, had one child.

James Brine, 20 years old, unmarried.

They were arrested on February 24, 1834, and sentenced to transportation on March 19.

Mrs. Thomas Standfield was deprived, at one blow, of her husband, son and two brothers. Though she remained destitute, with six children, she was refused aid by the poor relief authorities, because she was the wife of a "dangerous man." The same treatment was accorded the other families in the group. The labor movement came to their assistance.

The land owners used two stool pigeons in their war upon the union. The testimony of the spies was discredited at the trial, but the judges, who were extremely partial, accepted it.

George Loveless, the leader of the group, was strongly urged by one of the lawyers for the defense, a Mr. Young, to turn state's evidence, and gain his freedom. Loveless asked with indignation, "Do you mean that I am to betray my companions and promise I will have nothing more to do with them?" When answered in the affirmative, Loveless said: "Well, you may tell the magistrates I will not do it. I would rather undergo any punishment." As stated, he and his colleagues were given the maximum penalty of seven years of virtual slavery in Australia.

As soon as the six trade unionists were convicted, the labor movement, with the support of liberal forces, inaugurated a powerful campaign for their liberation, in which the famous Robert Owen took a leading part. A mass meeting was held in London on March 24, 1834, and was attended by ten thousand persons. A petition to Parliament was voted, but Parliament ordered it laid on the table. Similar meetings were held throughout the country. Resolutions were adopted, and funds raised for the relief of the prisoners' families. A second meeting in London on March 30, was attended by twelve thousand persons. That meeting sent a resolution to the King, but he refused to act upon it. On April 21, a monster procession marched to the office of the Home Secretary. The estimates of the number of participants were from 50,000 to 120,000. A petition carried on the shoulders of twelve men was taken to the Home Secretary, but he refused to see the deputation.

The government was willing to grant the prisoners their freedom if they agreed to remain in Australia. The purpose was to keep them from trade union activities at home. The labor movement would accept nothing short of a full and unconditional pardon. For two long years the campaign was carried on with growing vigor. At last the government was compelled to grant a full pardon, and on March 14, 1836, the Home Secretary made an announcement to that effect.

It was a long time before the government officials in Australia were pleased to communicate the information to the prisoners and arrange for their departure for home. George and James Loveless, James Brine and the two Standfields landed in Eng-

land on March 17, 1838, four years after their trial, and two years after their pardon. James Hammett came in August, 1839. They were received by their comrades with great joy. George Loveless threw himself enthusiastically into the Chartist movement, which began at that time.

A full century has passed since Tolpuddle. Grown in numbers and power the British labor movement has brought back to life, as it were, the six unknown land workers. From August 30 to September 2, 1934, the movement held a grand centenary commemoration in honor of the Six Martyrs of Tolpuddle. The struggle of labor for status and rights, symbolized by the martyrdom of the six men and by the honors that the movement accorded their memory, has been raging ever more determinedly. It will go on until the exploitation of labor ceases, and those who do the world's work are their own masters, freed from the enslaving wage system.

England, the first land of modern capitalism, was also the first land of the struggle of social classes in its modern form. In England, as in other countries, organization was at first prohibited. A trade union was an illegal conspiracy. The trade unions were, of necessity, secret organizations. But despite all hardships the trade union movement lived and grew and in 1824 Parliament bowed to the inevitable and removed the ban from the unions. The workers took their new right, the right to organize, seriously, even as the American workers of one hundred years later, took their *Section 7a* seriously. The workers had the legal right to organize. But woe to those who attempted to use that right. There were judges ready to transport them to a penal colony in Australia, not only as a punishment for themselves, but as a warning to others. In England of those days, the technical excuse was the harmless initiation ceremony for new members. Excuses are easy to find. In this country, years back, socialism or I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) was the convenient charge against trade unionists. Now it is communism. That is the charge against discontented workers who assert themselves. They may be republicans or democrats, but if they are dis-

satisfied and demand their rights, they are communists. If a modern variety of a penal colony is brought into being, or whatever else it may be, it will be for communists and non-communists, aliens and American citizens. The Six Martyrs of Tolpuddle were no aliens in England. They were British subjects, and sent to the penal colony. Our own strike pickets are sent to jail regardless of their citizenship. The talk of deporting aliens as trouble makers is hypocrisy. The threat is intended to frighten all workers into submission. That is the meaning of the turbulent events in San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Toledo and other industrial centers, even as it was of the events in the life of George Loveless and his heroic comrades one hundred years ago, in 1834.

August, 1934.

PART ONE: LABOR PROBLEMS, ISSUES, GOALS, PERSONALITIES—AT HOME

I

THE LOGIC OF SOLIDARITY

LABOR solidarity flows from a consciousness of interdependence in a struggle for common interests and against a common enemy. No class is so completely and so constantly involved in such a struggle as are the wage workers. All businessmen or all professional men may be interested in particular measures which would be helpful to them. But that common interest in a particular situation does not make for universal solidarity. There are wide gulfs within those groups, due to the differences in material success in business life. The president of the National City Bank has no solidarity at all with the president of a modest five or ten million dollar institution. The wealthy corporation lawyer has *not* the same interests as the lawyer who is struggling to make ends meet. The big manufacturer has hardly anything in common with the small one who may be economically but little above the people that are working for him. The manager of a gigantic department store is not a comrade to the manager of a small neighborhood store.

The wage earners are the only ones whose material interests are identical and who are substantially on the same economic level throughout industrial society. There are two factors which place all wage workers in the same class and compel them to develop a high and ever higher degree of solidarity. One, the fact that each worker is hired, employed by a master who pays him wages for his labor. Two, whether the wages paid to the worker are high or low, they are somewhere near

what is actually needed in order to live under prevailing conditions. They may be a little above or a little below the subsistence level, but in no case very far from the poverty line. There can be no labor solidarity where only one of the two factors is present. The president of a big industrial corporation is, technically, a hired man. He works for a wage or salary. His pay, which may be fifty or a hundred thousand dollars a year, is misleadingly included in the official wage and salary statistics. But though he is a hired man, his livelihood does not necessarily depend upon his employment by the corporation and the salary it pays him. His pay is not a mere living wage. He lays aside as a reserve more than he consumes for his livelihood. While some corporation presidents may be getting fifty to one hundred thousand dollars a year others are being paid five to ten thousand dollars.

There are no such vast differences among the workers. Suppose the textile worker gets twenty dollars a week and the tailor thirty. The difference in the pay, though relatively large, does not place them in different classes. The tailor may enjoy somewhat more of the minimum comfort and perhaps lay aside a little more money for a rainy day. He will probably call in more often a private physician than go to a public institution in case of sickness while the textile worker will be going more often to the public dispensary than to a private physician. But both workers are poor and close to actual poverty, one more so and the other somewhat less. There is no rich-and-poor distinction between the two. The same is true of all groups of workers. In the business world one may be losing money while another is amassing wealth under the same general business conditions, but wage workers are affected alike by low or high wages.

Modern industry tends to reduce all workers to the same general level. There may be poorly paid workers and better paid ones, but the difference between them is the difference between living on a lower or higher floor in the same tenement house, not the difference between a tenement and a palace. The identity of their interests compels a kind of solidarity among

wage workers which is not possible, as a permanent and growing force, among other people.

The labor movement crystallizes its own ideology. In its broadest sense it is socialism. In its more restricted sense, as it is known in England and in this country, it might be called labor consciousness. That is a labor solidarity that includes help to needy strikers, but is also more than that. It responds promptly to an emergency situation. The proportion of organized workers in whose hearts the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy struck a sympathetic chord was undoubtedly greater than that which responded similarly to the Chicago tragedy forty years earlier.

Labor consciousness, if we are to take England as an example, aims at the assumption of power and responsibilities in society. The present labor movement situation in England may be a mirror of the future of the labor movement in America. It may be but a step from labor consciousness to class consciousness. The former seeks power as a means of self-defense; the latter seeks it for self-defense and also for the ultimate reconstruction of society.

The several stages of labor solidarity may be traced in the following manner: The craft union, the industrial union, the nationwide organization and, finally, the world organization of labor. As the labor movement moves to higher forms of organization it undertakes to deal with ever more problems with which it is unable to cope in the lower stages of organization as, for instance, the injunction problem. Finally, the labor movement becomes a growing factor in the matter of world peace. The rise from one stage to the other may improve the condition of the workers and give them, as a class, greater power, but it does not change their status of wage workers. They remain hired persons, working for a master, with all of the economic insecurity that that implies, however strong their organization. From that condition they will be freed when they attain the highest known goal of human cooperation, the cooperative industrial commonwealth, in which the workers will be, collectively, their own employers.

September, 1930.

2

THE NATURE OF UNITY

THE trade union, that is, the industrial organization of the workers, is different from all other human organizations. It is unlike the military army, whose existence depends upon the will of the government; unlike the religious congregation, which is to satisfy spiritual needs, as old as human history; unlike the educational, sport or social bodies, whose membership is voluntary and not necessarily confined to any economic group. The trade union is the only mass organization that springs from economic class interests. Wage earners only belong to a trade union. That is so because the trade union is a product of modern employer-employee relations; of the worker's economic grievances against his employer.

The bulk of the workers, when joining a union, are conscious of but one purpose, that of immediate and urgently needed improvement; they are not concerned with the social significance and historic mission of the trade union. When a point is reached where the spirit of organization grips the unorganized workers and drives them on to action there is, at first, unbounded and undisciplined enthusiasm for the coming change, for the something that will *soon* make the workers' lives better and happier. An elemental force, desperation resulting from accumulated sufferings, at times enables unorganized workers, without means and experience, to win fights and build unions. The odds against those workers are overwhelming. Only by heroic efforts can they make progress. Has not

that been our own history? Would the needle trades unions of today have been possible without the extraordinary sacrifices of the pioneers? Would those sacrifices have been possible without the fiery enthusiasm that came close to fanaticism? What was that enthusiasm for? For the stirring revolutionary slogans of the emotional agitators? Seemingly, yes; actually, no. The idealists, who in the pioneering days of the needle trade workers, preached the highest labor movement ideals, fired the imagination and enthusiasm of the workers which enabled them to draw strength from their own misery, and hold out in struggles for which their normal strength was unequal. The enthusiasm was not, however, directed to the realization of the noble ultimate ideals but to the achievement of the immediate purposes, such as the recognition of the right to organize and an increase in wages.

Wherever the workers are fortunate enough to pass out of the pioneering period and build up a powerful union they concern themselves ever more with immediate problems and seem to be drifting away from ultimate aims. We sometimes give vent to our displeasure by scornfully declaring that success and prosperity have made those unions conservative. It is, of course, possible for a revolutionary union, as it is for an individual revolutionist, to become conservative, and vice versa, but generally speaking, the successful unions are doing substantially what they were created for: they are striving to protect the interests of the workers immediately, today, at this moment. It is the success on this field that constitutes a successful trade union. In the final analysis, the reputed revolutionism of the needle trades unions in the early days consisted chiefly in the temper of the movement. The seething spirit of the workers while fighting the sweat shop evil was called revolutionary because it meant a spectacular uprising on the part of those workers against intolerable exploitation, but the workers did not expect a victory against the sweat shop to emancipate them from the status of wage workers. With the disappearance of the sweat shop a colorful element was removed from trade union propaganda, and, to that extent, the trade union ap-

peared more conservative. Actually, the trade union, which seems to be growing conservative because important achievements have narrowed the scope of emotionalism and widened that of deliberate action, may be becoming ever more useful and helpful to the workers as a class.

A union gains influence in the industry only by enlisting into its ranks large numbers of workers. Obviously, they are not recruited from those who build unions where there are none. Only few do the building, because that must be done sometimes under cover and more often under fire. In the very nature of things the masses come later. They include persons with conflicting views on labor movement matters, persons with no views and persons who would prefer to be outside of the union if they could help it. All elements are essential for the success of the union because numbers are the most vital factor. While the spirit of the organization may be influenced by the idealism of the few, its power is derived from the loyalty of the many. Unity of action becomes a matter of life and death to the industrial labor organization. It should be clear that if large masses band together under economic pressure, irrespective of principles and ideals, all must be able to accommodate themselves within the organization.

The collective strength of the trade union is determined: (1) By the proportion of the workers in the industry that are in the union, and (2) By the degree of loyalty of the organized workers to the union. Labor organization in America is still a very delicate plant which must be carefully nursed. Only about ten per cent of the American workers are organized, and "company unions" have arisen to increase the difficulties of organizing the workers. While the needle trades unions have a much larger proportion of organized workers than have unions in other industries, and are not affected by the company union evil as others are, they are unable to escape the effects of the general low level of labor organization in this country. Among the workers generally there is depressing indifference toward the labor movement. All these factors make labor unity most precious.

Wherever a trade union is organized, however moderate and conservative its immediate purposes, an independent workers' power is created, by workers and for working class interests. This fact is of tremendous importance because of the possibilities created by it. Things which were at first beautiful but seemingly unattainable ideals, may now be taken up as practical problems, as, for instance, the building up of an independent political power of labor based upon its industrial power. There is a far cry from a slogan used to arouse and encourage unorganized workers to the translation of it into reality. The former may be vague and general; the latter must be positive and concrete. The former has the glamor of distance and expectation; the latter lacks that because it is close and definite. This is the difference between labor unity as an abstract ideal and as a reality. Labor unity is more glittering in dream than in reality, because in dream each one of us creates this unity in a form that is most pleasing to him; in life, however, we must accept it as it is, as conditions formed it, in quality and in quantity, and make the most of it. In this way we may be able to improve and extend it.

July, 1926.

3

REALITIES OF THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES—I

THE struggle between the employing class and the working class results from the conflict of material interests between the two classes, and we call it, therefore, class struggle. The issues involved in this struggle are economic, basically and fundamentally: jobs, hours, wages, etc. The organizations formed by the workers and the employers to deal with those issues and problems are strict, rigid, and exclusive organizations in their composition: Trade unions for the workers; employer associations for the employers. Wage workers only are eligible to membership in the trade union. No employer may become a member; nor anyone else who is not a wage earner. Employers only are eligible to membership in their associations. No worker, and no one else who is not an employer, is eligible. A sharp economic class line-up! The worker, through his trade union, meets his employer, on the industrial field, face to face, in disputes on immediate, concrete and vital material interests. No theories, no abstractions, but inexorable economic realities. The employer on one side of the controversy; his own employees, on the other. Here the class struggle is seen in all its nakedness. Here it is positive and unmistakable, whether the trade union of the workers is radical, conservative or reactionary. This condition results from the inevitable industrial relations between employers and employees.

In former years, when we were struggling to build a union, we could see clearly only this one angle of the class struggle. But as we built up our organized power, and grew strong

enough to become a *permanent factor* in the industry, we acquired new experiences. They may be summed up thus: Though we face our employers immediately, directly, and on mutually contested ground; though we face them in the clear and unadulterated class struggle, we do not, thereby, face capitalism. We confront the *individual* employer, the *individual* capitalist, the *individual* adversary, not the capitalist *system,* not the capitalist *class.* Even in our most bitter industrial warfare we fight an individual employer, or an individual group of employers.

The employer, however, does not fight us, the trade union, isolated and single-handedly. He has the aid of his whole class, directly, consciously, deliberately. When the employer invokes the aid of the courts, the police, and the public press against the trade union, as he usually does at the time of a strike, he enlists the organized power of society, which power is controlled by his class. But the trade union, as the labor movement situation in this country is today, cannot help fighting a single enemy. Its attack is aimed against the individual foe only; not at all against the class; at any rate, not directly.

The strike is the sharpest expression of the class struggle today. What does actually happen in the case of a strike? What did happen in any one of our best, or worst, strikes? We were slugged and some of our pickets were murdered; we were slandered, libeled, indicted and arrested in wholesale. But we always fought on. For what purpose? For the abolition of capitalism? Not one of us would say so. It was all for the purpose of *inducing* or *compelling the individual employer to make peace with us;* a *collective peace* with the trade union instead of a *separate peace,* with each individual worker. That is what recognition of the union by the employer means. That is the underlying principle of collective bargaining. That applies to all trade unions and to all of their strikes. We may go further and say that every time we make a strike settlement we reaffirm, in effect, our acceptance of the existing social order, of capitalism, of society as it is. We have no choice.

However, the employer may persistently refuse to recognize

the union and continue fighting it. He has the privilege of making peace with the union whenever he so desires. The union can *not* say that it refuses to recognize the employer. The union can *not* keep workers on strike forever, and refuse to make a settlement, for the workers must work in order to live. The employer may, if he chooses, transfer his capital to another industry, where there is no union yet; or, he may withdraw entirely from the industrial field to the financial, where unions and strikes are still unknown. Needless to say that no union and no worker has such power. The union *must* fight for peace; the employer *need not.* The union can win the desired peace only if it is strong enough to fight hard and effectively. That is why the settlement of a strike, if it carries with it recognition of the union, is accepted as a victory for the workers, whether the other gains are important or not.

Now note this: The success of the trade union, in making a good peace with the employers, brings greater material comfort and satisfaction to the workers. To the extent that dissatisfaction among the workers diminishes, the prevailing social order seems to be more secure; capitalism, more stabilized. Successful trade unions do reduce social discontent—that sort of discontent which makes for desperation and destruction—though they may engender another sort of discontent, which is wholesome and constructive.

It is clear, that the trade union, the only class struggle organization of labor on the economic field, concerns itself in its daily and vital activities, including the most important industrial struggles, with individual employers, not with capitalism. With those individual employers quarrels are settled and differences composed every day, and the course of the industrial order is made as smooth as possible.

We also accept, in all humility, some of the crying evils of our social order. Take the injunction as one instance. The anti-labor injunction is a shameful class rule institution. All unions, progressive and conservative, are unanimous in denouncing it. But how does the trade union act at the *crucial moment,* when it is dragged into court and charged with con-

tempt because of alleged violation of the injunction? Does it rise in its wrath to denounce the injunction as an outrage? No. The union comes into court with the best lawyers it can get, and with all possible witnesses, to prove that it has faithfully and scrupulously obeyed the letter of the court's order. The trade union cannot help doing that. The injunction is issued by an accommodating judge to help an employer break the strike of his employees. Punishment for alleged violation of a strike-breaking injunction is one of the means for breaking the strike. The union must fight to keep its members out of jail. Does not the union, by pleading obedience to the court's restraining order, give its sanction and approval to the anti-labor injunction as an institution, at least formally? It might be so interpreted. But what else can the union do? It cannot strike against the injunction. The injunction is there, and the union must recognize it as it does the policeman's club; it must try to steer clear from both as best it can.

What is the outcome, at best, of any strike, let us say, of the stormiest fight between the union and a belligerent employer; after injunctions and after the murdering of pickets? I am speaking of history. What *has* happened, at best? A peace agreement between the two warring parties—the employer and the union. Despite the white hot rage engendered during the state of war; despite all possible vows taken by the workers while making sacrifices for their cause, we celebrate with genuine joy and happiness the *peace* attained, and gratefully declare that our sacrifices have not been in vain.

So far our discussion has been of the employer-worker relations in a state of industrial warfare. Let us see now what happens in the class struggle under conditions of industrial peace.

4

REALITIES OF THE STRUGGLE OF CLASSES—II

WHERE there are peace relations between the employer and the union the latter accepts the policy of collective bargaining in one form or another. The complete collective bargaining system carries with it impartial chairmanship, arbitration, etc. This institution meets with opposition from persons in both camps: from employers, because collective bargaining means first of all and above all, recognition of the trade union; from workers, because under the rules of collective bargaining there is not that freedom of action that is otherwise theirs, in theory.

Let us take one of many concrete problems that come within the purview of the industrial pact. In a factory employing, say, one hundred people, something has gone wrong. The manufacturer is unable to meet the competition of his rivals, who may also employ union workers, and is losing trade. The trouble may be due to some defect in the management, or to a change in the type of merchandise; the fault may, also, in some way, be with the workers. If there were no union, the firm would, if it so chose, dismiss the whole crew and replace it by a new one—younger workers or cheaper labor otherwise. If that wouldn't help, the firm would have to liquidate. The union does not permit arbitrary dismissal. But the firm is unable to proceed. Assessing blame won't help; a practical solution must be found if the jobs are to be saved for the workers. If we are content to soar in the realm of abstraction we might see no serious problem in the hypothetical

situation. Suppose the firm goes on the rocks. People won't stop buying clothing because of that. Some other manufacturer will get the orders. Workers will make the clothing, most likely, union workers. But, unfortunately, we live in a prosaic, matter-of-fact world, and as plain ordinary mortals we see the spectre of joblessness for one hundred family heads. Solving their problem is our job. How do we handle it?

We send our representatives into the sick factory to investigate and locate the cause of the ailment, not for the purpose of determining guilt but of finding an effective remedy. The task of our representatives is to find a way which would enable the manufacturer to stay in business so that our hundred members may be able to earn their livelihood; or, as many of them as possible. By doing so we not only support capitalism but also the individual capitalist, and, apparently, the inefficient one, at that. Yet, that is precisely what every strong and efficient trade union is doing. That is a part of the benefits the members expect to derive from their organization. This sort of trade union activity, which protects the worker while helping the employer, looks like the much hated thing called "class collaboration". Would any opponent of "class collaboration" want his union to refuse to take such action when he is himself involved? Call it by what name you may, it is nothing more or less than the worker's bread and butter. Can any union deliberately reject such action and expect to live?

To sum up. The trade union is engaged in the class struggle resulting from the worker's material interests and grievances. This struggle goes on continuously, day by day. It finds expression in the fight for the reinstatement of discharged workers; resistance to wage reductions; pressure for a higher standard of living, etc. However, the conscious purpose of the trade union is not the substitution of the present industrial order by another, but the maintenance of an organized labor power to protect the workers in their status of wage earners.

You will bear witness that so far I have not theorized, have indulged in no speculation, but have drawn entirely upon experiences, which have been yours and mine. At this point,

however, we shall enter a field, which, in this country, is still one of speculation, because our practical experiences on it have been meagre and—discouraging. We now approach the field of independent political action by labor. Note two basic differences between the trade union and the political party.

First: The trade union, as you well know, admits to membership wage earners only, and seeks the enlistment of all workers in its trade or industry, *irrespective of their social or political views.* The political party admits to membership only such persons as accept its principles and program, *whether they are wage workers or not.* Membership in the trade union is determined by occupation; membership in the political party, by conviction.

Second: The trade union is concerned with the employer; the political party, with the employing class. The trade union confronts the *personal* antagonist, the *individual;* the political party, the *impersonal* one, the *system.* The union can settle no controversy with the capitalist class; the party can square no account with the individual employer. The union does the strike picketing. If the picketing laws are oppressive, and if the court is hostile, the union is helpless. The political party does no strike picketing, but within its domain is the power to liberalize the laws and replace biased judges. The trade union may fight against the evil consequences of a *particular* injunction, but it is powerless with respect to the anti-labor injunction *generally.* However many individual injunctions the union may escape it is always faced by this judicial Gatling gun. This permanent menace may be removed by the political party. The party is unable to fight the individual injunction in the courts; that is the job of the trade union, but it is in a position, nay, it is its sacred duty, to fight the injunction as an institution in the legislative halls. The trade union is hedged around by its own trade limitations; the political party knows no trade or industrial demarcations. Its field of activity coextends with society as a whole. The political party is in the service of the entire working class.

August, 1927.

5

THE RIGHT TO STRIKE IS BASIC

THE strike is not a modern phenomenon, though the *right* to strike is. There have been strikes, in one form or another, since the human race split into masters and slaves, in the very distant past. The first recorded strike, and so far the greatest in its consequences, was that of the Jewish slaves against the Egyptian masters, known as the Exodus. Moses, not a slave himself, was the first labor agitator, organizer and walking delegate. Pharaoh's response to the pleas of the Jewish slaves was an order to his taskmasters to discontinue the supply of straw for the making of bricks: let the slaves find their own straw. That was their punishment for complaining. Doesn't that seem rather modern?

There were many great strikes in ancient Greece, Sicily and Rome. Those strikes naturally assumed the form of conspiracies and rebellions. The period of about 200 B.C. was prolific in slave strikes. Very often those strikes ended in disaster for the slaves, with the masters wreaking frightful vengeance upon them, as for example, the famous uprising led by Spartacus. Sometimes the slaves succeeded. Carrol D. Wright, in his book, "The Battles of Labor," records the fact that 20,000 silver miners in Laurium, Greece, won some concessions as a result of a great strike in 413 B.C.

When serfdom superseded slavery there were serf strikes as there had been slave strikes. The peasant wars in England and in Germany testify to that fact. They were bloody

struggles. Fifty thousand peasants perished in the German Peasants' War in 1525.

The strikes of the slaves and the serfs were illegal strikes. The law gave the slaves no rights at all, and the very limited "rights" enjoyed by the serfs did not include the right to strike. A strike of slaves and of serfs, which could not but be violent, was armed rebellion against the established order and, therefore, treason.

In modern industrial civilization the worker's right to strike is generally conceded. But there are many obstructions to the exercise of that right. In the United States it is being steadily restricted by legislation, Supreme Court decisions and injunctions. The right to strike is completely denied to government employees. In Italy, strikes have been entirely outlawed. In England the government is asking Parliament for a law limiting the right to strike.

The slave and serf strikes are eloquent warnings of the fact that under a régime of masters and servants, strikes are inevitable. They may be illegal, they may be violently crushed when they come, but they must come sometime. The strike is, in the truest sense, the workers' resistance to tyranny.

Under a régime that forbids strikes, the strike, when it does come, assumes a social character, a revolt against the system, not only against an individual employer or a specific grievance. In legalized strikes that aspect is not apparent. The legalization of strikes was brought about by the growing power of the wage workers. It was granted under great pressure. Where workers are brought together in large numbers, and placed in control of the intricate machinery of production, their potential power becomes so tremendous that in self-protection the master class must make certain concessions to them. Hence the legal right to organize and the legal right to strike; legal as distinguished from *actual,* or, the formal right as distinguished from its application.

Every strike, even the smallest craft strike, is fundamentally a social protest. It is a challenge to the existing order. But the workers are not aware of it. When the workers in a given

craft, or a trade, or even an industry, strike for higher wages or shorter hours, they are not, as a rule, conscious of the social significance of their act. They are wage-conscious or hour-conscious, as the case may be. To the striking workers their fight and its immediate issues are detached from the great and all-inclusive social problem. When the strike is won by the workers their social problem is solved for them, until a new dispute arises. In a sense, a strike, resulting in the improvement of working conditions, tends to stabilize the capitalist order, because it makes that order more bearable, or less unbearable, for the workers. In this sense, the legalization of the strike is a safety valve for capitalism. Without such legalization every strike would be a violent social revolt.

The legal right to strike does not, like magic, remove all opposition to strikes and strikers. On the contrary, the more powerful the employer groups grow the more powerful and effective their opposition. The lost strikes in the basic industries in recent years were a real tragedy. The employers have learned how to make strikes illegal in effect though legal in name. This is a vital distinction, for it focuses the workers' attention upon the importance of the immediate issue instead of upon the danger to the greater principle of the right to strike. Judge Anderson's injunction against the mine workers in 1919 outlawed that strike. Judge Wilkerson's injunction against the shopmen in 1922, and numerous injunctions in other strike cases, practically accomplished the same end without making the strike illegal generally. Every injunction against strike picketing is, in effect, a blow at the right to strike. Damage suits against unions, resulting from strikes, are calculated to discourage strikes. The yellow dog contract is another anti-strike method. The company union is the latest, most subtle and most effective means for the suppression of strikes. Remove the formal legalization of strikes and the march of the company union will come to a halt. If it will not disappear entirely it will be only because the employers have discovered in the company union advantages in addition to strike immunity.

There is no guarantee that the large and trustified industries which have so far successfully kept the lid down on unions and strikes may continue keeping it down for all time. The lid might be blown off at any time by an explosion. May we not learn from the successful strike threat of the railroad Brotherhoods in 1916? The conservative and sedate railroad workers' organizations availed themselves of the opportunity which they found in the government's preparation for entering the World War.

The fact that the situation has not repeated itself since 1916 is no guarantee that it will not be repeated in the future. On the contrary, if the cautious and conservative railroad Brotherhoods could resort to the extreme measure of 1916 it may be assumed that other groups of workers, more aggressive because of more serious grievances, will follow the same course when their opportunity comes. The more trustified and concentrated the industry the greater the clash when it comes.

In answering this question, there are two vital factors to be considered:

1. The lesson of history that strikes are bound to come sometime, legally or otherwise.

2. The fact that in our modern industrial society the strike has the sanction of law. To this should also be added the other fact that the workers have votes. Immigration restriction necessarily reduces the proportion of non-citizen and non-voting immigrant workers. The repression of the industrial organization of the workers in this country might lead to a wide awake political movement of labor, which would be an open challenge to our social order.

Many well meaning people have been diligently searching for something to replace the strike. The answer of history is that nothing can replace the strike. The strike is the only real weapon the workers have and they could not give it up if they would. If the workers should, assuming such possibility, make a final and complete surrender of their right to strike, the working conditions following as a consequence of the surrender would bring the very opposite result: a violent strike.

If strikes should be forbidden by law there will be illegal strikes. Strikes may be broken through persecution or repression, but by no method can the strike be abolished. The strike is a social corrective which cannot be eliminated.

A strong labor union may avoid strikes. But let us remember that a labor union may become strong only because of the *legal right to strike*. By impressing the employers with its strength and solidarity, i.e., with its ability to strike hard and successfully to bring industry to a standstill, if necessary, the union may be able to effect the settlement of a dispute without a strike. Also, in the case of a strong labor union, rarely otherwise, the employers enter into collective bargaining arrangements for dealing with industrial relations problems under definite rules agreed to by both sides. Where such arrangements are in effect the union calls no strikes. *The union agrees not to exercise the right to strike* so long as the accepted rules are adhered to. The employer, on his part, must not use his power as employer to make arbitrary decisions in matters affecting the workers. The union must have a voice in the making of such decisions.

The collective bargaining apparatus is often called Arbitration Machinery. This should not be confused with compulsory arbitration. Under the compulsory system the right to strike is forcibly taken away from the workers, thus defeating, in the long run, the very purpose of industrial arbitration. That is entirely different from the voluntary agreement of the workers not to exercise for a given period, and under certain rules, their lawful right to strike.

In no case is the strike—the workers' right to strike—abandoned. Yet, no union, whatever its relations with the employers, calls a strike if that can be avoided. For a weak union, the strike is the only means of defense, which, because of its weakness, it cannot always use; for a strong union, the strike is the last resort, which, because of its strength, it need not always have recourse to. Rules for negotiation and adjudication in capital-labor matters, such as prevail in the men's clothing in-

dustry, make it possible to employ the strike as a last resort only.

The legal right to strike is of such vital importance to the workers that they may not want to give it up even after the transition of the present private ownership régime in industry into the cooperative industrial commonwealth, where the workers themselves will be the collective owners of the industries. There will be problems arising from the relations between the workers and the management. The workers may retain their present means of defense, the right to strike, which they may agree not to exercise in consideration of certain arrangements between them and the management. That will be collective bargaining under collective ownership, probably the highest form of industrial democracy.

July, 1927.

6

UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE UNION

INVOLUNTARY unemployment is a product of our industrial civilization. Primitive man, who supported himself by hunting, was kept busy by his struggle to provide himself with food and clothing. When man settled down to till the land he worked hard to extract his livelihood from the soil. Nor was the slave or the serf plagued by involuntary unemployment. Their complaint was too much work. Even to the early wage worker the horrors of present time unemployment were unknown. In England special legislation was enacted in order to *compel* workers to work. The Statutes of Laborers of the fourteenth century were not enacted to relieve unemployment; on the contrary, they imposed upon the workers what we would call today involuntary servitude.

Unemployment, as we know it, is the result of two factors: 1. The system of free wage labor. 2. Highly developed machinery. The slave and the serf were their masters' property. Idleness of slaves was an economic loss to their master, just as idleness of machinery is today. The wage worker is a free person. He is not owned by any one as was the slave; in other words, he costs the master nothing. He is employed and paid wages when his labor is needed; he is sent away when his labor is not needed. As a free man the responsibilities are entirely his own. The employer owes him nothing except pay for the time the worker was actually employed.

The machine has been brought into the industry for the sole purpose of increasing the productivity of human labor; of

producing more goods with the same or less human effort. Slave labor and highly developed machinery are incompatible. On one hand, the cheapness of slave labor is a deterrent to the development of machinery; on the other hand, the slave has no reason, no incentive, to master the intricacies of modern machinery and run it efficiently. He loses nothing if a machine breaks. Unemployment is no punishment to him. In modern industry, therefore, free wage labor and machinery are inseparable. The workers and the machine produce a great deal more than they cost; that is, more than the combined costs of wages, machine investment and upkeep, including overhead charges. If the products are marketed and the plant is kept running with the whole crew all is well, but when a hitch occurs and for some reason the labor of all workers cannot be used in the plant, there is unemployment with its accompanying hardships. Unemployment is due, also, to seasonal fluctuations and other causes. The present unemployment situation has been created chiefly by the rapid mechanization of industry.

In former days the worker depended on his skill. Therein lay his security. That was his indestructible property. It was unlike any physical and tangible property. No industrial depression or financial panic can destroy skill. That lasts as long as life itself. It is in the worker's brain, flesh, and blood. The machine is making that heretofore precious asset useless and unnecessary. The protection and security a worker found in his skill are rapidly diminishing. Also, the machine removes that obstacle from various occupations which in the past barred women and children from competing with men. The machine can use the labor of man, woman, and child. Thus it not only diminishes the possibilities of employment by doing an increasingly larger portion of human work, but also by drafting the woman and the child into industry to compete with the man. As a result of our great technical development we always have some measure of unemployment, and at times, as at present, widespread unemployment.

What is to be done?

Abolish the machine? Utterly impossible.

Restrict immigration? We have already done that. Except for the period of our participation in the World War, immigration into this country was never more restricted than it is now, but that has not protected us from unemployment. We are told that there are four million unemployed workers in this country today in spite of the immigration ban.

Labor-displacing machinery is to some extent its own corrective, inasmuch as it tends to create new industries and in that way furnish employment to workers. But now we are confronted by both increased output and decreased employment. This miracle has been performed by machinery.

What is the solution?

Let us look to a hard-working farmer family for enlightenment. Among the heavy burdens of the housewife in that family is the task of providing the group with clothes. That is an arduous task. The family manages to save up some money and purchases a sewing machine, which is not very expensive and may be operated by foot power. Simple as the machine is, it saves much human labor. Unemployment in this case brings relief instead of hardship. The housewife may take additional rest, she may make more clothing for the family than before, or she may lighten the burdens of the other members, by helping them in their work. All that is possible because the machine is owned and used by the family. Does not this suggest the solution for our great social problem? Cooperative ownership and operation of the means of production is the complete answer to the burning question of unemployment. But for obvious reasons that solution is still very remote. Immediate relief is necessary and possible.

The trade union, if strong enough, protects the worker's right to his job, and thus to some extent enforces his right to an opportunity to work. The value of this great service by the union to the worker and the community is not generally appreciated; on the contrary, very often the union is attacked because of that service. The trade union reduces the acute suffering of complete unemployment by the rule that requires

division of work among all the workers in the plant instead of dismissing the surplus workers. While the trade union offers no opposition to the introduction of improved machinery into the plant, it takes great pains to give the workers the maximum protection when the machinery comes in. The trade union avails itself of opportunities, which do not come very often, to shorten the working week and obtain some relief in that way.

The unemployment problem is not the problem of one industry, one locality or one trade union; it is a national problem and can be dealt with effectively only on a national scale.

Relief may come from political action. The government may undertake public works on a large scale. The legislature may enact unemployment insurance laws, such as there are in European countries. But governments and legislatures do not move in this direction unless forced by the political power of labor. There is no such power in this country at present.

April, 1928.

7

WORK ASSURANCE AND INSURANCE

THE philosophy underlying the principle of unemployment insurance is that the worker must live and support his family all the time, not only when he is employed. The worker is unable to control his employment opportunities. Experience has shown that it is impossible for him to save, while he is working, enough for all "rainy days." This protection must be a social function. "Society," in this case, must be the same collective body that is recognized by all as the one to bear responsibility for public health, public education, public welfare generally, the government, the state. This body, more than any individual group, is in a position to organize matters so as to protect the worker from becoming a public charge, when his factory shuts down.

In the important countries of Europe that principle has been recognized, especially since the war, and has led to various systems of legal and compulsory unemployment insurance. In this country there is much prejudice against such insurance, which is stigmatized as a "dole." Even some labor spokesmen are afraid that government unemployment insurance would undermine the morale of the worker and destroy the dignity and self-respect of the American citizen. Does the bread line, the alternative to unemployment insurance, preserve the dignity of the American worker? The hungry person will look for bread wherever he can find it. If he has no income of his own he will turn to charity institutions. These are private and voluntary organizations, and at a time of general depression

suffer from the hardship of increasing demands upon a decreasing treasury. The average hungry person is driven to extremes, to stealing and other crimes. Crime has been on the increase in this country since the depression began. No such reports reach us from European countries, which have unemployment insurance. The average American is no worse and no better than the average European. We are of the same human material. We are practically all Europeans of yesterday. The idleness compensation, which enables the worker to hold together body and soul—and honor—during hard times, explains the difference.

The governmental unemployment insurance system is no more a menace to the sense of dignity and self-reliance of the worker than is the compulsory and free education of our children. Before the public school system was installed the same argument of "dignity" and "morale" might have been made against it. Now we point to our free education at public expense as a great achievement of democracy.

In this country two types of unemployment insurance have been tried—by the employer alone and by the employer and the union jointly. The former may be dismissed as worthless for this one reason: It depends entirely upon the good-will of the individual employer. He may grant it to his people and he may withdraw it. Whether the help to the workers involved is little or much, there is no guaranty that it will continue.

There is a guaranty in the joint arrangement—the power of the union. In this case, the unemployment fund owes its existence to the labor union and will live as long as the collective agreement lives.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has such joint unemployment funds in the three leading clothing centers: New York, Chicago and Rochester.

In Chicago the employers contributed to the fund one and one-half per cent of the payroll until last year and three per cent since then; the workers are paying one and one-half per cent. The income at present is four and one-half per cent of the payroll. Unemployment payments began in May 1924. Until

January 3, 1931, more than $5,700,000 has been paid to members as unemployment compensation. In New York and Rochester the employers pay one and one-half per cent of the payroll; the workers pay nothing. In the former city about $470,000 has been paid to unemployed workers since early in 1929 and in the latter city more than $200,000 during the same period.

The amounts paid out show that, inadequate as the funds are, they still afford considerable relief to workers who are frequently suffering from unemployment, the clothing industry being a seasonal industry. No less important than the actual help given is the recognition by the leading markets of the principle that the industry has an obligation to the workers who keep it alive. It is the hope of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America to extend the institution of unemployment insurance to all clothing centers.

But our own success does not blind us to the realities of the tragic situation. And unemployment is nothing short of a tragedy. Unemployment insurance is *relief* not a *cure*. There are very few labor organizations enjoying the benefits of such insurance. But even if all organized workers should, in time, have those advantages, the relief would, in the great social sense, still be far from general. Only about ten or twelve per cent of our wage workers are organized. With all of the organized workers covered by unemployment insurance about ninety per cent would still be unprotected. The possibility of that great mass of workers becoming organized and helping themselves by their united power is remote. What hope is there for them but compulsory unemployment insurance by legislative action, as we have in a number of states compulsory workmen's compensation?

On my recent trip through Europe I was able to compare American with European labor economics. I made a comparison in Austria, a country which has suffered more than any other from the war, lost almost seven-eighths of its population, its great domestic market and its raw material resources. Under the "rules of the game" the Austrian workers should

be completely pauperized. I saw them in that condition in 1920. They are not so today. The difference lies in the benefits of social legislation enjoyed by the workers of Austria, especially in Vienna. They have unemployment insurance plus other kinds of insurance which help to feed and shelter the worker's family. What was possible in disrupted and impoverished Austria should be possible in a great and wealthy country like ours.

So far I have spoken of *relief*. Let me say just a few words about a *cure,* which is the most important thing.

Present day unemployment is due to the unprecedented labor-saving progress in machinery and production methods since the war. But for the amazing speeding up in improvements and inventions under the influence of the war it would have probably taken us many years to attain the heights of technological development we occupy now. All such progress means displacing labor. In the past, new industries, telephone, automobile, radio, movies—products of the machine—absorbed great masses of surplus workers. Now those industries are themselves suffering from idleness. There are no new industries in sight. The unemployed must be helped. But helping them with relief, food, means helping an army which is constantly growing larger and hungrier. In addition to relief we must have a cure. What would cure unemployment?

There are three remedies, which can be applied now, without involving disputes about social theories, and which, if applied, would make for a much happier life than the great masses enjoy at present.

One—Reduce the working time. There is a growing demand for a forty-hour week. We don't know by how many hours the week should be shortened in order to absorb all the idle workers. We don't know the extent of idleness. We know how many criminals there are in this country, but we don't know how many honest and law-abiding Americans are without an opportunity to earn their livelihood. We may assume, however, that a reduction of the working time to forty hours a week would take care of the unemployed for some years to

come, until new machines will create a new labor surplus. Trade unions, with power to influence working standards in their industries, enforce the principle of "division of work." The union insists that all workers be employed part of the time rather than a part of the workers be laid off. The inauguration of the forty-hour week, without diminution in earnings, would mean the application of a very constructive principle to our whole industrial life.

Two—We are told that there are two million child workers in this country. There may be many more. It is a crime against helpless childhood to keep them at work. They should be in the schools and on the playgrounds. We will raise a much happier generation—and generations—if the child workers are removed from the factories and their places filled by adult workers.

Third—While helpless childhood is exploited on one hand, equally helpless old age is exploited on the other. There are many workers, too old to work, employed at various occupations, and frightfully underpaid because of their advanced age. Those people have served the industry throughout their lives. They should retire on an old age pension and leave their jobs to those who should be working. There is nothing revolutionary in the old age pension idea. Our judges and our policemen receive such pensions, after years of uninterrupted work, when their income was not stopped by unemployment.

Here are three remedies that would really remedy. They would give us more than unemployment insurance; they would give us employment assurance.

March, 1931.

8

THE MENACE OF CHILD LABOR

THE children in Moscow are well fed and well clad, healthy and happy, writes Walter Duranty in the *New York Times* of February 5th. "Medical records and vital statistics bear out the surface impression of juvenile Moscow's healthiness."

While reading Duranty's report about the children in Moscow, I was holding in my hand an appeal from the School Relief Committee of the Board of Education of New York City in behalf of the children in New York. The appeal said in part: "I'm hungry! Will you share your milk with me? More than 100,000 children are speaking to you. They need milk. Lack of milk is causing serious illness among them. Growth, strength, health—their future lives—are at stake. . . . In three years the teachers of the public schools have given $3,000,000 to help hungry children and their families."

In Moscow, the poor capital of a poor country, the children are well fed and happy. In New York, the richest city in the richest country, the children are hungry and their lives are at stake. The difference is in the attitude of society—of the ruling power in society—towards the children. In Russia, the children's welfare is society's first responsibility. In our case, the child of the unemployed worker is either exploited for private gain, or—if too young to work—thrown upon public charity. We literally kill the workers' children by starvation and exploitation. Are these words harsh? Not as harsh as the facts by far.

The annual report of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, recently published, states that throughout the country there is undernourishment among the children. In industrial states, such as Illinois, Pennsylvania and New York, there has been a decrease in the consumption of milk, the most essential food for a growing child. A quarter of a million boys have become vagrants and tramps during this depression, moving from town to town in search of employment, stealing rides on freight trains. Fifty were killed and a hundred maimed on one railroad alone last winter. Hundreds have died of pneumonia. Rugged individualism!

We are appalled by the statistics of the killed and the maimed in the World War. But no figures or charts show the silent tragedies of the blasted lives of the war survivors after the war. Likewise with our juvenile depression victims. We may know how many of them have lost their lives or their limbs; we shall never know how many have lived as physical and spiritual wrecks as a result of long undernourishment, permanently lowered vitality, and the shock of bitter disillusionment at an impressionable age. And the sins of society against those unfortunates may be visited also upon their offspring, by the law of heredity. We hear of idle factories and ruined banks as casualties of the depression. The newspapers and the politicians speak of them. But the degeneration of American youth is a mere human value. It is not translatable into financial terms, and does not figure on the balance sheets of the business world. Since it cannot be interpreted in dollars and cents it is disregarded.

The November, 1932, Monthly Bulletin of Labor and Industry, published by the State of Pennsylvania, says: "While in no industry was the problem of child labor violation negligible, it was most acute in the men's clothing industry." That is the new sweatshop, which the employers have brought into the industry during the depression in order to break down the standards of the organized workers.

In the December issue of the above publication we find the following: "Too many 14 and 15 year old children are at work

in Pennsylvania today, while a million or more adults are unable to secure jobs. . . . During the past year not only did the employment of children in industrial home work increase, but the increase in their employment under illegal conditions was marked. . . . In some [clothing] factories minors under 16 constituted as high as 25 per cent of the total work force and more than 50 per cent were under 18 years of age. The majority of these 14 and 15 year old children were scheduled to work approximately the maximum number of hours permitted under the Child Labor Law, 9 a day and 51 a week. . . . Approximately one-half of the 800 children under 16 employed in the clothing factories visited by the Bureau of Women and Children in October received less than $3 a week; one-fifth received less than $2; and only five children received as much as $10 a week."

Under the leadership of the American Federation of Labor the labor movement in this country has had a continuous existence of more than half a century. For nearly two generations trade union propaganda has been carried on and workers have been organized. But the workers' children, the working youth, has remained untouched by labor movement influence. They are, on the whole, even antagonistic to the movement, as they get their information about it from their employers and the anti-labor press. Children from working class families have been brought into the clothing industry via the new sweatshop. Many of those children's parents have, at various times, been members of trade unions. But our experiences with this new army of young workers show that the trade union influence has not reached them through their elders. The children were under the immediate and direct influence of the employers' anti-union propaganda. On the contrary, the young worker, who is taught to "work his way up" by pleasing his employer, *under all circumstances,* is good material for the open shop and the company union.

It is these helpless young workers, newcomers in our industry, that we have undertaken to organize, to bring into the Amalgamated. They are American born; they attended Amer-

ican schools; English is their language. They are bright and intelligent, but completely in the dark, even if free from prejudice, with respect to the labor movement.

This problem is relatively new to the Amalgamated. The old sweatshop did not have much child labor. And as the Amalgamated was raising wage levels, and labor conditions generally, our members' children went to school, not to the factory. The depression, which has thrown adult workers out of employment, has brought into our industry very many child workers. We, the Amalgamated, are unable to give employment to their fathers—miners, carpenters, farmers—which would enable the children to go back to school. We can only do the next best thing—organize the children, as we have organized the adults about twenty years ago, and make life less intolerable for them. It will be one of our major tasks to educate these child workers, as they grow up, to help us bring such changes in our industrial situation, through the power of the union, as will enable us to guard and protect the children of tomorrow from the misery and exploitation of the children of today.

A new amendment, the twentieth, has just been added to the federal constitution. It has put an end to the "lame duck" Congress. The press throughout the country has hailed with delight the ratification of the amendment. Is it too much to ask for a twenty-first amendment, which would abolish child labor? The "lame duck" Congress was a nuisance. Child labor is a curse, a menace. A number of years ago the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional an anti-child labor act of Congress. The opposition of the Supreme Court to child labor abolition can be overcome by a constitutional amendment. Nine years ago Congress submitted such an amendment to a vote of the states. Only nine states have voted favorably; twenty-six have rejected it. The amendment is defeated even if the remaining thirteen states vote for it. The anti-child labor amendment will become a part of the Constitution only if at least half of the opposing states reverse their votes.

February, 1933.

9

NAMES FOR WAGES

Fair Wage

What are wages? What do they represent? How are they determined? What makes them move up and down? Can they be regulated? Should they be regulated?

It is impossible to discuss these topics fully without writing a book. But as I think of the problem of wages, I am reminded of the rapid evolution in the wage terminology. Within our own time there have been several changes.

For many years the phrase "fair wage" enjoyed high popularity. It was accepted, without dispute, by employers, workers, and the general public. It had the great merit of indefiniteness, which allowed of convenient interpretations. The philosophy of the trade union movement found expression chiefly in the slogan of "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." What is a fair day's pay? Two, three, five dollars? And what is a fair day's work? Eight, ten, twelve hours? And why?

While everyone—employer, worker and "consumer"—subscribed to the "principle" of "fair wages," no one knew what that meant. Where the workers were well organized the wages were higher and the hours shorter. Where they were poorly organized, the wages were lower and the hours longer. What was "fair" in one case was "unfair" in another, depending upon the power of the union to move the "fair" sign up or the power of the employer to move it down.

American Wage

Under the influence of war patriotism, and when the innocuous "fair wage" phrase was losing its charm, the "American wage" was substituted for it. While "fair wage" was meaningless, "American wage" was misleading. It was associated with the propaganda that American wages were higher than European because of the deliberate policy of the employers. Books were written to "prove" the "farsightedness" of American employers, who were maintaining a high wage standard in order to maintain prosperity, and that as a result of that statesmanlike policy of American industrialists, high wages and prosperity were assured permanency in this country. Also, the phrase "American wage" was closely associated with the "American plan" in industry, which was camouflage for the "open shop" and the company union. The depression with its ruthless wage slashing exposed the "American wage" myth. The phrase was dropped.

Living Wage

After the "fairness" of the "fair wage" and the "Americanism" of the "American wage" were exploded, the "living wage" was brought into our industrial vocabulary. There was some meaning to that. Not that anyone was able to say definitely what a "living wage" really was. That depended much on the standard of living, which is not at all uniform, and on the ability of the American worker to pull in his belt. But it did convey the idea that wages should be high enough to enable a worker to support his family in accordance with a certain standard. The fact that the "living wage" was formulated as an objective of American labor was proof that the American workers had not attained it.

Saving Wage

A former Secretary of Labor invented the phrase of "saving wage." That "labor" member of the Cabinet was a banker, and he spoke the banker's language. What is a "saving wage"?

Presumably, a wage large enough to enable the wage earner to save a portion of it. But underpaid workers save, when employed, as well as others. In fact, they have a much stronger "incentive" to save than others, because their condition is more precarious. Their rainy day is more threatening, because their earnings during industrial sunshine, are so small. In their case, "saving wage" means saving money that should be spent, and that is a menace to the worker's well being, physical and otherwise. The phrase did not take.

Social Wage

It was perhaps due to the superstitious belief that a change in name means better luck that another change was suggested. This time it was the "social wage." It meant no more than any of the other wage adjectives. It was intended to convey the idea of *better* wages, a *higher* standard of living. But that proved as ineffective as the "saving wage." The "social wage" was a still born child. It is remembered by very few.

Minimum Wage

Passing quickly through the vacuum of "fair wages" and all the rest, we have finally hit the terra firma of the *minimum wage*. At last we know where we are. For the first time the thing is called by its right name, without pretence of fairness, etc. Minimum is minimum. It means just that.

Cultural Wage

Someone, naturally a man of culture, suggested a "cultural wage," but the suggestion met with no response. "Cultural wage" said nothing and meant nothing. No one took it seriously.

January, 1934.

Security Wage—Prevailing Wage

These are the last words in wage vocabulary—so far. They are a product of the N.R.A. experiment. In his January, 1935, message to Congress, President Roosevelt laid down the "principle" that workers on government projects should be paid wages lower than those paid in private industries—fifty dollars a month. This low wage is called "security wage." It is usually assumed that the government must be a model employer and pay better wages than private employers. A governmental low wage policy will have the effect of setting a pace for wage cutting in private industries. The United States Senate rejected the President's low wage proposition and wrote into the law a "prevailing wage" provision. But the President won out. The "prevailing wage" was thrown overboard—abandoned even by Senators who had been regarded as pro-labor—and the "security wage" written into the law.

April, 1935.

10

THE INJUNCTION

Congress has passed the Norris-La Guardia anti-injunction bill. Having been approved by the President, it is now the law of the land.

Senator Norris, Congressman La Guardia, and all others, who made this law possible, are entitled to full credit for what they have done. In other countries, that would have placed a definite and final curb on the injunction menace. Not so here. If the employers drag the law into the Supreme Court, it may meet there with the same fate as its unfortunate predecessor, the Clayton Act, which had been hailed as "Labor's Magna Carta." The Magna Carta has turned out to be a big scrap of paper.

I take it that the authors of the bill did the very best they could in the circumstances. But the new law does not abolish labor injunctions. It only imposes restrictions upon the judge's arbitrary powers.

To the writer, as a layman, it seems that the most significant part of the Act is that which specifically denounces and outlaws the "yellow dog" contract. If allowed to stand by the Supreme Court it will be a vital advantage to the labor movement. While the Act itself is not binding upon the state courts, a ruling by the Supreme Court sustaining the anti-yellow dog provision cannot remain without influence on those courts.

It should be remembered that there are in this country forty-nine governments—one federal and forty-eight state governments. The new Congressional act affects only the federal

courts. And most of the injunctions come from the state courts.

The limitations imposed by the new law upon federal judges are:

1. There must be a hearing in open court before an injunction is granted. But the court may, at its discretion, issue an ex parte order—on hearing only the employer's side—for five days, and upon the filing of a bond to recompense the defendant, if the suit is dismissed.

2. No injunction should be granted to an employer who had made no attempt to settle his dispute with labor by direct negotiation or through government agencies.

3. Contempt of court cases arising from an injunction must be tried before a jury. This will do away with the present disgraceful practice of the injunction-issuing judge being himself the accuser and the judge.

Some centuries ago, England inaugurated the injunction as a protection for the people against usurpation of power, where the law afforded no protection. In time the court of equity, from which such injunctions emanated, became an instrument of oppression in the hands of the rulers. In recent years the anti-labor injunction was abolished.

We have accepted the English principles of jurisprudence, but have not followed England in the matter of the anti-labor injunction.

Since the legalization of trade unions in England only two injunctions were issued against labor in that country. One in 1867 and one in 1900, in the epoch-making Taff Vale strike. The principle of the injunction of 1867 was denounced by the Court of Chancery, when it declared in another injunction case, six years later, that the Court of Chancery had no jurisdiction to restrain the publication of a libel as such, even if it should be injurious to property.

The Taff Vale injunction case placed the British labor movement on the road to political power. An injunction was issued forbidding picketing in that famous railroad strike. The union appealed to the Court of Appeals, and the decision of the lower

court was reversed. The railroad company appealed to the House of Lords, and the decision of the Court of Appeals was reversed. The labor movement felt outraged, turned to its then weak Labor party and made it a great power. As a result, the House of Commons passed, in 1906, the Trades Dispute Bill, which has put an end to the labor injunction.

In the United States the anti-labor injunction dates back to 1888. In that year the first state injunction against workers was granted, in Massachusetts; in 1893 came the first federal injunction.

The most dangerous aspect of the anti-labor injunction is the fact that it is practically independent of and above all law and constitutions. It is, in fact, a violation of the first amendment to the federal constitution, which forbids Congress to make laws "abridging the freedom of speech or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble." The judges have usurped the power denied to Congress. Workers who refuse to waive their constitutional rights and human dignity are threatened with imprisonment for contempt.

The anti-labor injunction is, also, an open defiance by the judges of the Sixth Amendment to the federal constitution, which specifically provides for a trial "by an impartial jury." The injunction destroys this precious constitutional guarantee. The judge constitutes himself complainant, prosecutor, jury and judge. The unfortunate citizen, who is thus deprived of his constitutional right, is not charged with the commission of any crime. He did not steal, rob or kill. But he has incurred the ill-will of an arbitrary judge. The right of a person to be tried by a jury is so important that the American revolutionists included that in their Declaration of Independence. One of the specified grievances against King George, enumerated in that revolutionary document, was the charge that he was "depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury."

Judge Anderson's injunction also violated the 13th amendment, which forbids involuntary servitude. The most important part of the American constitution is the Bill of Rights, which consists of the first ten amendments. They were ac-

cepted shortly after the ratification of the constitution, in order to make the constitution an instrument in the interests of the people. The injunction judge places himself above the constitution. His injunction order abolishes cherished rights of the American people.

With respect to anti-labor injunctions the courts play with the constitution fast and loose. Where the constitution forbids injunctions implicitly the constitution is ignored; where it does so explicitly the constitution is "corrected" by the courts. For instance, the constitution of the State of Arizona limited the power of the courts in labor injunctions. The U. S. Supreme Court wiped out that part of the constitution. The constitution was declared unconstitutional. Eighteen states passed legislation against the "yellow dog" contract, which since the notorious Hitchman case, has become a convenient basis for injunctions. The Supreme Court declared all those laws unconstitutional. The country has been made safe for the injunction.

The injunction, having no basis in law, and being above legislation and constitution, depends entirely upon the judge's personal sympathies or antipathies, either in the matter of industrial relations, or in the case immediately before him. Precedents do not count. A victory for labor in one injunction case is no guarantee against injunctions in other cases of the same type. A victory in an injunction case achieved by labor is limited to that case alone.

Perhaps the most dangerous feature of the injunction plague is the fact that the mischief is done, even if labor does, in rare cases, win in the end. The employer files with the judge his petition for an injunction, sometimes after the beginning of the strike and sometimes before. The judge does not inform the union; does not hear its side. He issues a temporary restraining order, ex parte. The union's hands are tied. Theoretically that is only a provisional order, to be followed by a trial, to determine whether the order should be discontinued or made permanent. Actually, almost every temporary injunction order is a permanent one. A prominent lawyer stated that less than

one per cent of all preliminary injunctions reach trial. If the union is strong enough to win the strike in spite of the injunction, the case dies a natural death. If the strike is lost as a result of the temporary injunction, there is no occasion for a trial and a permanent injunction.

Theoretically, also, all that the temporary order achieves is maintaining a status quo; actually, a status quo in this case means stopping all strike activities, surrender by the striking workers to the employers, giving up the strike.

In 1894 Judge Harlan, of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in reversing an injunction order by Judge Jenkins, compelling railroad workers to accept wage cuts, said: "No court can subordinate the right of labor to the right of the employer." In 1921, 27 years later, Judge Van Siclen, of Brooklyn, in an injunction order, issued against the Amalgamated, declared that "they (the courts) must stand at all times as the representatives of capital."

The injunction is clearly an instrument of class justice, made for the use of the employing class against the working class. It is the most effective means for making ineffective the rights which the workers have won in the progress of civilization. There was no injunction against the slave, because he had no rights. The anti-labor injunction came when the wage workers demonstrated their ability to organize, strike and win. When legislation was enacted against trusts, that legislation was pressed into the service of the anti-labor injunction. When Congress and state legislatures enacted laws for the protection of the workers against injunctions, the Supreme Court wiped them out, and kept the road open for the injunction. The same was done when a state included anti-injunction clauses in its constitution. Whenever necessary the constitution of the United States is invoked to pave the way for the anti-labor injunction. In the decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Arizona case the Chief Justice drew a line between workers and business men. The anti-injunction clause in the Arizona constitution was declared unconstitutional, first, because of the 14th amendment to the constitution which contains the due process

of law provision; second, because strikers are not financially responsible, whereas business competitors are financially responsible. Clearly, class justice.

There is a cardinal principle in law: Where two rights clash, the courts must stand aside and allow things to take their normal course. In labor cases that principle is rarely adhered to by the courts. And while workers have been prevented from organizing, by court injunction orders, we have never yet heard of an injunction forbidding the organization of employers.

The anti-labor injunction is here. It is a steadily growing menace to labor. What is the remedy? Legislation? We have had federal legislation—the Erdman Act, the Clayton Act—and state legislation. All such legislation has been slaughtered by the Supreme Court. Constitutional provision? We have had that, too, with the same fatal result. The trade union, however strong, is helpless. It can defend itself only against a particular charge, but it dare not attack, in court, the injunction institution. By doing that it would only arouse the judge's wrath and be punished by him.

There is just one remedy, and one only: A labor party; a political party of, by and for labor. With a judge placed on the bench by the labor party the enemy of labor will find no willing ally or servant to sign an injunction order against workers. And the Supreme Court can neither command him to sign an order nor remove him for refusing to do it. And the fear of a growing labor party will stay the hand of the anti-labor injunction judge. The Labor party abolished the injunction in England; a labor party will do the same here.

April, 1932.

II

LABOR AND THE WORLD WAR

Now that the world has grown thoroughly sick of the war and is praying for peace, we enter it. We are adding another hundred million of God's children to the billion already engaged in the terrific carnage. We are contributing our great reservoir of men and goods to feed the cannon of ruthlessness and the flames of Moloch.

On Monday, April second, President Wilson, the erstwhile Peace President, addressed the Sixty-fifth Congress in special session and urged a declaration of war with Germany. In the small hours of Friday morning, April sixth, the last vote was cast in favor of a resolution declaring war.

That was quickly followed by a severance of relations with us on the part of Germany's most important ally, Austria-Hungary.

In the name of democracy and in the name of freedom war was proclaimed. Yet those very people, for whose democracy and freedom war is to be waged, were not permitted to express themselves against adding their blood as fuel to the flames now devouring Europe. The very people who are supposed to be sufficiently intelligent to select a president and a Congress for this free and democratic republic are not supposed to be intelligent enough to determine for themselves whether they want war or peace. The president and the Congress, themselves the creatures of the free citizenship of the republic, determined for us what we want and we are told that that is "the will of the people."

We have ceased to be neutrals. We have ceased to be the hope of the world for the mediation of peace. We have ourselves become actors in the bloody drama.

The transition from peace to war was accomplished with great skill and dexterity. There was hardly a ripple in the change.

In Germany, before war was declared in 1914, the working class raised a mighty protest through numerous anti-war demonstrations.

In England, the workers' opposition to war found a very emphatic expression in the resignation of John Burns from the Government.

The French proletariat, under the leadership of Jean Jaures, made itself heard in unmistakable language against war.

In our own country the working class has no attitude and has given no indication of any. No one can authoritatively say that the American workers favor or oppose war.

The conference of International union presidents, called by Gompers and held in Washington on March 12th, unanimously pledged the American working class to war. But that conference spoke without any real authority. The rank and file were not consulted. We are not aware of any labor organization of importance whose members were asked for instructions by those who presumed to act for them at that conference; or who ratified the action of the conference. No officer of a labor organization can commit his constituents to war without their consent, particularly if such constituents are expected to man the guns and stake their lives.

The American working class has not uttered itself either way. It has remained pathetically indifferent to a proposition that is of more vital concern to itself than to any other part of the nation. A handful of peace loving citizens, not from labor's ranks, fought bravely against terrible odds a losing fight for peace. Labor was silent, insensible to its own dangers, evidently having learned nothing from Europe's bitter experiences during the past two and a half years.

The conference that has pledged labor to war made no ef-

fort to secure in return such assurances as would guarantee those rights and advantages that labor has succeeded in establishing after many hard fought battles.

Gompers has gone to the opposite extreme. As Chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense *he pledged the workers not to strike no matter what the provocation.* To cap the climax the committee also unanimously agreed upon the following:

"That the Council of National Defense urge upon the legislatures of the several states that before final adjournment they delegate to the governors of their respective states the power to suspend or modify restrictions contained in their labor laws when such suspension or modification shall be requested by the Council of National Defense, and such a suspension or modification, when made, shall continue for a specified period and not longer than the duration of the war."

The laws that are now affording some slight relief and protection for the women and children in the factories will be placed at the tender mercy of capitalist governors, whose every oppressive act against labor will bear the label of "patriotism."

In contrast with the action of the Gompers committee it will be a relief to turn to an appeal issued by the National Consumers League sounding a warning of the "grave danger of losing the standards so laboriously attained during the last quarter century." The League complains that: "Even the officers of the State Federation of Labor, in an outburst of feeling, recommended that in this crisis all limitation of working hours should be removed. More recently still, the New York City Association of Employing Printers passed a resolution calling upon the State Legislature to suspend or repeal all laws limiting the hours of women employees." The League calls upon all to join in the effort to:

"Preserve short working hours wherever they exist;
"Maintain the present minimum of sanitation and safety;

"Keep the children in school by means of scholarships where necessary;

"Uphold the standard of living for the family, whether the chief wage earner is a soldier at the front, or working on national supplies at home." The League then continues:

"We cannot believe that the people of the United States are willing to sacrifice all the difficult achievements of social progress in the impulse to defend their country without thought of the future, or even of the present need of the highest industrial efficiency. For this efficiency can only be secured by holding to the protective laws proved by science to be essential to health and well-being."

It requires no great stretch of imagination to realize that whatever rights, liberties and advantages of the working class the employing class will succeed in abolishing during the war will stand abolished. It will take another war, a bitter class war, to re-establish them.

We are already rapidly losing our rights as free citizens, though actual warfare has not yet begun. The freedom of speech was the first of our precious possessions to be lost.

The New York Grand Jury, whose business it is to draft indictments against persons charged with crime, went out of their way and adopted a resolution calling upon the District Attorney to prepare a bill for the legislature making it a crime publicly to express an opinion not in accord with the advocates of war. The Grand Jury were made happy by the information that their wish had already been anticipated by the District Attorney.

A number of citizens were arrested and sentenced to jail terms as long as six months for expressing at public meetings their disapproval of war.

A debate on militarism last Sunday in Brooklyn was censored by the police in the hall. George R. Kirkpatrick, who took the negative side, was compelled to announce from the platform that he was not permitted by the police to complete his argument, as his view of militarism did not conform to

that of the blue coats. It must have been easy for Kirkpatrick's opponent to "win out."

Thus militarism is casting its shadows on our free institutions.

One feature in militarism, which makes it so dear to the hearts of our masters, is the fact that it establishes a big and very desirable market for their goods at their own threshold.

At the time of this writing there is hope, however, that Congress will not consent to the establishment of conscription. If this hope should come true we shall at least be spared this great horror of militarism. Still we do live in the twentieth century. Still we do live in an age when even Russia may emancipate herself and Kaiser Wilhelm promises reforms to his people. There is something in this age that gives us hope that the American working class will not permit itself to be robbed of its power, that it will find sufficient manhood to protect its rights and interests.

April, 1917.

12

LABOR AND THE NEXT WAR

One argument that can be urged in favor of war is that it will, for a while, solve the problem of unemployment. But that could be accomplished much more economically by the government shooting the surplus workers outright, without costly military training and war preparation. Would that be a cruel thing to do? Not more cruel than sending the same workers to be killed, after training, in a government uniform, and by an enemy bullet. But while one thing is called bloodshed, the other is called heroism, especially if the victim is an unknown soldier.

The great World War occurred in our own time. All of us remember it. Many of us participated in it. We know that tens of millions of young men were killed and maimed. Many of the latter are condemned to lives of mental and physical suffering. Not less appalling is the extent of ruin in material things. Yet we speak of another world war coming. All are agreed that the next war would be more destructive than the previous one. Still we are told that we are nearer war than we realize. War may break out between the United States and Japan, between Japan and Soviet Russia, or between any two European nations or groups of nations. And any spark may set off the whole heap of dynamite in a general explosion. Though there is no universal will for war, there is universal expectation of war, and fear of its coming. The sudden outbreak of war would surprise no one. We are psychologically prepared for war.

War is a tragedy because of the wholesale destruction of human life. But the war spirit, the popular glorification of mass murder as an ideal, is an even greater tragedy. The popularity of war, which increases with the extent of the war, is even more horrible than war itself. And the peace treaty that follows a World War is a greater catastrophe than the war itself. Most of the world's present misery may be traced to the peace treaties. We remember clearly how the appeal for a negotiated peace to end the world war was drowned in the cry of "No peace without victory." The peace treaty was written by victors, and that is why we are now nearing another world war.

The deadly poison of international hate is now eating into the very vitals of the European nations. Czecho-Slovakia is hated by Germany, Germany by France, France by Italy, Italy by Jugoslavia, and so on along the line. Heinrich Mann, former president of the Prussian Institute of Literature, wrote a book which he very significantly called "Der Hass," Hate. In that book he says, "We cannot fight, we want at least to hate." Hating, looking upon all fellow men as enemies, can be done even by those who are unable to fight. Hate is now the ruling passion of our civilization. "Love thy neighbor" has been changed to "Hate thy neighbor."

Towards the end of the last war revolutions broke out in several countries, and they were pointed to as a beneficial result of the war, as the birth of democracy in undemocratic countries. But with the exception of Soviet Russia the war-made revolutions have been choked. The war made the world safe for dictatorship, not for democracy. Fascist dictatorship is the new stage in our civilization—in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, and in other countries.

It is impossible to hope that another war and its peace treaty would not intensify the evils produced by the previous war and its peace treaty. There must not be another war.

But who will stop the coming of war?

Not the governments. They make wars though always talking peace. Eighteen years ago we elected a president for a sec-

ond term on his plea that he had kept us out of war. But right after his re-election he forced us into the World War. And then we cheered for war even more lustily than we had previously cheered for peace, because we feared to appear unpatriotic. Governments, as we know them, with their army and navy programs and secret diplomacy, make wars.

Will business prevent war? It grows fat on war orders. Government contracts for munitions and other war necessities are too profitable for the business world to sacrifice them in the interests of peace.

The church is in a position to exercise tremendous influence for peace. Hundreds of millions of people, of various creeds and faiths, follow obediently the leadership of the church. But the religious leaders, like most others, talk peace in peace time only. When war comes they preach war, and give their blessings to bayonets and to poison gas. I take it that there are exceptions. But exceptions emphasize the rule.

In the past, my hope for international peace rested in the socialist movement. I have not weakened in my socialist convictions. I see no other salvation for mankind. But I must recognize the tragic fact that in 1914 the socialist movements failed in the test. In most cases they lined up behind the war-making governments. I want to hope that if another crisis comes the socialist movements will live up to their duties and responsibilities for international peace. But the socialist movements in such important countries as Germany, Austria and Italy are no more!

The trade union movement occupies a position which makes it the potential arbiter of war and peace, as it may bring all war activities to a standstill, by the workers folding their arms. But that implies a powerful organization and a very high consciousness of purpose. Will the war come before the trade union movement attains that high level of development, or after?

The picture is not a cheerful one. But the situation is as it is. It takes intellectual, moral and physical courage for peace time pacifists to oppose war when war comes. And that is true

of institutions and movements. We hate war and we hate militarism. We want to see both abolished for all time. We don't know how that could be done just now. But just because we don't, as yet, know how to prevent war, while the war makers do know how to make it, we must do the only thing that is possible at present—enlighten the people, especially the youth, on the true meaning of war. Our educational work may be completely wiped out when the government sounds the bugle call for conscripts, but that is the only course open to us. The demagogue will always be with us and get a better hearing than the honest and conscientious person. But if we are to be true to our own conscience we must carry to the masses the message of international brotherhood and trust that some day the people will see the light, find courage and act to make the world safe for themselves and for peace. When the organized workers of the world will, by their collective decision, refuse to kill their fellow men and to produce the things with which to kill, there will be no more wars. We have faith that that day will come.

May, 1934.

13

LABOR A POWER IN MINNESOTA

MEMBERS of the Amalgamated who were delegates to our convention in Philadelphia, in 1924, will remember William Mahoney, who appeared before them to invite the organization to participate in a political conference in St. Paul. Now he is mayor of St. Paul, elected May third, 1932, on the Farmer-Labor ticket. Mahoney is the first labor mayor of the capital of Minnesota. He is a veteran of the labor movement in his state, and one of the founders of the Farmer-Labor party.

The Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota is not a socialist party. It does not employ socialist terminology. It does not theorize. It deals with concrete facts. The farmers are being exploited and ruined; the workers are being exploited and starved. In Minnesota the country and the city populations are about equal. At times, the farmers go to the cities to look for jobs, and industrial workers seek employment on farms. In the industrial states in the east, the farmer is a very remote element, almost an abstraction. In the agricultural states in the west, the farmers are told that the wages of the city workers are too high. As the farmers must pay high prices for city products, because of the high wages, and accept very low prices for their own products, they are unable to support themselves. Many farmers believe that the fault lies with the workers. In Minnesota the farming and industrial populations are closely related and they understand each other's problems. The farmers understand the need of good wages and

other good working conditions for the industrial workers, and the workers realize the urgency of relief for the farmers. No wonder, therefore, that the beginning of an understanding between farmers and city workers has worked out in Minnesota. From there the light might spread to other parts of the country.

The Farmer-Labor party is an outgrowth of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, which had stirred the northwest in the exciting war years. The League was a farmers' party within the Republican party rather than an independent political party. Under the state primary laws it is possible for a well organized group to place its own people in nomination for public offices on the ticket of the regular party. Thus, the farmers argued, they had two chances in the political struggle: in the primary and in the final elections. Failing in the primary elections they could vote in the general elections for the candidates of the opposition party, if those were the lesser evil. For a time that worked. In North Dakota the League captured the Republican primaries and nominated Lynn Frazier for governor. He was elected, as were also other League candidates for state offices. Frazier's administration rendered useful service to the farmers of the state. But the old guard of the Republican party was able to prevent a re-election of the Frazier administration. Frazier is now a "Republican" member of the United States Senate from North Dakota.

The turning point in Minnesota politics was reached in the year 1918. While on one hand the defeat in the primaries disillusioned the League members with respect to the primary as an effective weapon, on the other hand interest in political action was stimulated by the St. Paul municipal administration breaking a strike of street car employees.

At the same time the farmers were acquiring experiences of their own. In order to protect themselves against the elevator companies they opened their own cooperative elevators. But when they did that the railroad companies refused to give them cars in which to transport their grain to the market. Thus, bona fide farmer and labor grievances compelled action.

Townley, representing the farmers, and Mahoney, representing the industrial workers, got together and agreed to make an effort to enlist the labor movement in the political struggle.

As a result, the convention of the State Federation of Labor, held in July, 1918, decided to call a state-wide labor conference for the purpose of nominating candidates for public offices jointly with the farmers.

On August 25, 1918, two political conferences were held, one of trade unionists and one of farmers, meeting in separate halls. Committees acted as connecting links between the two conferences. A state ticket was nominated.

Originally, there was no intention to form a new party. The reluctance to create such a party, which was due to the hope attached to the primary elections, continued even after that hope had vanished. However, for the purpose of identification, and to enable the voters to distinguish the farmer and labor ticket from others, an official designation on the ballot was necessary. And it was natural for the two groups to choose "Farmer-Labor" as such designation. Within two years those groups found themselves functioning as a party.

In 1922 the farmers and the workers held separate nominating conventions for the last time. Two years later the two organizations merged into the Farmer-Labor Association, which has since been popularly known as the Farmer-Labor party.

In 1922 this party elected Henrik Shipstead to the United States Senate. He has since been re-elected for a second term. In the same year the party also elected two congressmen: O. J. Kvale, father of the present Farmer-Labor Congressman, and Knud Wefald. In July, 1923, the party startled the country by electing a real dirt farmer, Magnus Johnson, to the United States Senate. In 1930 Floyd B. Olson and Henry Arens were elected Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, respectively, on the Farmer-Labor ticket. The party has approximately one-third of the members in each house of the state legislature.

In 1931 William A. Anderson was elected mayor of Minneapolis, and Julius J. Reiter, mayor of Rochester.

There are now four Farmer-Labor mayors in Minnesota: in

Minneapolis, St. Paul, Rochester, and in one more smaller city.

The entire daily press of the city and all other powerful interests backed the Republican mayor against Mahoney. Only the weekly and semi-weekly farmer and labor publications supported Mahoney.

The enemies of the Farmer-Labor party had attempted to identify William Mahoney with a William J. Mahoney, who had been convicted of embezzlement in Minneapolis. The bomb was timed to explode two days before election day, which would have left Mahoney no time for contradiction before the casting of the votes. But the information reached Mahoney ahead of time, and he turned the tables on his enemies. Instead of them charging him with embezzlement, they were put on the defensive and denied knowledge of the plot.

The three leading issues of the campaign were: rule of the underworld; the power franchise; wage cuts to city employees. The Farmer-Labor party charged that the city administration was controlled by the underworld, whom the party promised to wipe out. This year the twenty year franchise of the utility corporation, furnishing the city with light, heat and power, is expiring. The former administration favored a renewal of the franchise on the old terms. The Farmer-Labor party, which is committed to ultimate municipal ownership, proposes to renew the franchise only upon certain very drastic changes in the terms. The former administration included wage reductions to city employees as a means of economy. The Farmer-Labor party is committed to a policy of no wage reductions.

All trade unions in the city are affiliated, as bodies, with the Farmer-Labor party. The party's ticket had the support of all racial groups and of 95 per cent of the school teachers.

June, 1932.

14

LABOR'S MARTYRS: SACCO AND VANZETTI

At first Sacco and Vanzetti were mere Italians; then, dangerous radicals; now, and at last, they are human beings. As Italians—who asked them to come here, anyhow? As radicals—the sooner we get rid of them the better, no matter how. As human beings—if they can be put to death by a mockery of "due process of law," and in violation of all rules of decency and human rights, are not the lives of all of us endangered?

The conviction and sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti are so appalling that there is a fatalistic belief on the part of many that Governor Fuller must pardon the innocent victims and set them free. This fatalism is dangerous. A powerful public sentiment must be developed in order to impress the governor with the necessity of taking such action. Nothing stands now between the two condemned men and the electric chair except the governor of the state. The labor movement and the general public should be shown that two men were condemned to death not on the strength of evidence but on the strength of prejudice against them because of their social views.

Judge Thayer had two opportunities to punish Vanzetti for his unpopular beliefs, and he took both. One was in 1920, when Vanzetti was convicted on a charge of robbery, the other was the murder charge. Vanzetti is innocent of both charges. He and Sacco had the misfortune of having been arrested at a time when it was most dangerous to be a foreigner or a radical. It was doubly dangerous to be both. The robbery

and the murder charges were but convenient excuses. The thing that was to be proven was the unofficial and untechnical charge that the prisoners are radicals. That they themselves admitted.

At the time of their arrest Sacco and Vanzetti were busy getting up protest meetings in connection with the mysterious death of Andrea Salsedo, an Italian radical. Salsedo had been arrested by the Department of Justice when the Department was at the height of its efforts to stop the "revolution" by raising hysteria. One night Salsedo fell to his death from a Department of Justice office window. Was he murdered? Did he commit suicide? The matter was never cleared up. Salsedo was a foreign born radical. The Department of Justice was morally, if not legally, responsible for the tragedy, but the country was made so nervous by the Department of Justice anti-radical activities that it was easy to hush up the gruesome affair. It is all forgotten now, except inasmuch as it lives in the Sacco-Vanzetti drama, which, let us hope, will not become another tragedy. When these two Italians were seeking to arouse the American people to the enormity of the crime committed against their countrymen, they little thought that they were creating a new case of world fame with themselves as the principals.

Fifty years ago a number of coal miners in Pennsylvania, the Mollie Maguires, were hanged after their betrayal by a labor provocateur and spy. Some day the memory of those innocent victims of a foul conspiracy will be vindicated.

Forty years ago the "Chicago Anarchists" were hanged for the killing of several policemen by a bomb, thrown by an unknown hand, on Haymarket Square at an Eight-Hour-Day meeting. Six years later Governor Altgeld of Illinois, in his famous pardon, proved the innocence of all who had been convicted of the Haymarket tragedy and released those of them who were still living and in jail.

Twenty years ago three members of the Western Federation of Miners were kidnapped in Colorado and railroaded to Idaho, there to be tried for the murder of Governor Steunen-

berg. If convicted, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone would have paid with their lives. A nation-wide movement was inaugurated in behalf of the three workers. The initiative was taken by the Industrial Workers of the World because the three accused men were members of the I. W. W. through their miners' union, but the labor movement generally made the fight its own. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were acquitted.

The persecution of persons active in the labor movement has not stopped since then; not even at lynching; not even at the murder of a woman organizer (in the steel strike). But we had thought that the courts had stopped at capital punishment. Forty years without a death sentence for labor movement activities did lead one to the belief that the foes of labor have eliminated legal murder from their list of penalties for persons active in the movement. Has Judge Thayer turned back American civilization to 1877? Or, will the spirit of twentieth century America countermand the vindictive judge's order and stay the hand of the executioner? If working class America and liberal America will be aroused to a consciousness of their duty at this moment, Massachusetts and the nation will be spared the dishonor of the double crime of executing Sacco and Vanzetti.

The time has come for a renewed and united struggle to save the lives of the two innocent workers. Let no political affiliation, no factional division, stand in the way of a mighty and united effort to set Sacco and Vanzetti free. They must be kept from the electric chair. And if they are entitled to live they are likewise entitled to be free. Tremendous pressure will be brought to bear by our enemies upon Governor Fuller to withhold clemency from the innocently condemned men; we must overcome that by a demand for justice from the American people.

Complete and unconditional freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti should be our slogan!

April, 1927.

15

TOM MOONEY, THE MEASURE OF OUR SOCIAL PROGRESS

I HAVE been unable to dissociate mentally the Mooney-Billings case from the Sacco-Vanzetti case, both because of their similarity and dissimilarity. I shall for this reason review briefly the California case.

A bomb exploded at the time of the Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco, July 22, 1916; six persons were killed, about forty wounded, and a few of the latter died subsequently. Tom Mooney and his wife, Rena Mooney, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg and Edward B. Nolan, were charged with the crime and arrested. The Mooneys had incurred the enmity of the anti-labor forces in San Francisco by their efforts, though unsuccessful, to organize the street car men. The others were arrested because of their relationship to the Mooneys. Billings was tried first, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. Mooney was tried next, convicted of murder in the first degree, in February, 1917, and sentenced to die.

The star witness, on whose testimony Billings and Mooney were convicted, was a man named Oxman. After those convictions letters from Oxman to a prospective witness turned up, which completely discredited Oxman and his testimony. Because of that exposure the prosecution did not call Oxman to testify against Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg, and they were acquitted. Nolan was never put on trial.

So far the California case and the Massachusetts case run along parallel lines. Mooney and Billings, as well as Sacco and

Vanzetti, were framed because of their labor movement activities. At this point, however, the parallel ends. In the case of Sacco and Vanzetti the prejudiced and vindictive trial judge, Thayer, blocked every move for a new trial, despite important changes in the evidence after the trial; the governor just as stubbornly refused to commute the death sentences, and the President refused to intervene. Sacco and Vanzetti were killed.

The Mooney case took a different turn.

As soon as Mooney's trial judge, Griffith, learned of the Oxman letters he called upon the State's Attorney General to take steps towards a new trial. The judge declared that if he had had knowledge of those letters when the case was still in his jurisdiction he would have granted the motion of the defense for a new trial. When he learned of the letters the case was out of his jurisdiction. The Attorney General then asked the Supreme Court to send the case back to the lower court for retrial. Without the Oxman testimony it would have been impossible to convict Mooney. But the Supreme Court ruled that it was unable to act. Technically the record was regular. There was nothing in it for the court to reverse or find fault with. The discovery of the new evidence, however important, was outside of the record, and the court was unable to take cognizance of it. The only remedy was executive clemency.

In the meantime there developed a powerful Mooney defense movement. It was born in Russia and grew up in America. Russia had just overthrown Czardom. The Russian workers, flushed with revolutionary enthusiasm, took a keen interest in the labor movements of other countries. They had heard of the Mooney frame-up before that was known to many workers in America. The Russian workers held meetings of protest and carried out a demonstration in front of the American Embassy in Petrograd, demanding the liberation of Mooney. That was before the advent of the Soviet régime; the United States still had its Ambassador in Russia. The American government became alarmed. Russia was a tremendous factor in the World War. It had kept a large part of the German army engaged, away from the western front. It was important to

keep Russia in the war. The Mooney protests in Russia were, therefore, very effective.

President Wilson appointed a commission to investigate the Mooney case. The commission, headed by Secretary of Labor Wilson, made an investigation, exposed the frame-up, and urged action to right the wrong. In its report to the president the commission referred to the protest meetings in Russia. President Wilson sent the following letter to Governor Stephens of California:

The White House,
Washington, D. C.
January 22, 1918.

My Dear Governor Stephens:

Will you permit a suggestion from me in these troubled times, which perhaps I should feel hardly justified in other circumstances?

The suggestion is this: Would it not be possible to postpone the execution of the sentence of Mooney until he can be tried upon one of the other indictments against him, in order to give full weight and consideration to the important changes which I understand have taken place in the evidence against him?

I urge this very respectfully, indeed, but very earnestly, because the case has assumed international importance, and I feel free to make the suggestion because I am sure that you are as anxious as anyone can be to have no doubt or occasion of criticism of any sort attach itself to the case.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
Woodrow Wilson.

The Governor acted in accordance with the President's wishes and saved Mooney's life. But though innocent, Mooney and Billings are serving life terms. There was a powerful movement for their liberation when the prosecution insisted that Mooney and Billings were guilty; they have been forgotten since the prosecution has virtually conceded their innocence. The best that Mooney and Billings may hope for is a pardon or a parole. Even that possibility is still very remote.

Perhaps, we ought not to wonder at the fact that Mooney and Billings, convicted eleven years ago, are forgotten now, if we realize that the Sacco-Vanzetti execution, only one-half year old, is all but forgotten.

Compare:—

The conduct of Judge Thayer with that of Judge Griffith.

The attitude of Governor Fuller's commission with that of President Wilson's commission.

The refusal to intervene by President Coolidge with the vigorous intervention by President Wilson.

The brutal vindictiveness of Governor Fuller with the clemency act of Governor Stephens.

The result:—

Mooney is alive and looking forward to ultimate liberation; Sacco and Vanzetti are in their graves.

The Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy was enacted ten years after the commutation of Mooney's death sentence.

Is that an indication of the backward movement of our social "progress"?

January, 1928.

16

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD—A TRAGEDY

TOWARD the end of the first decade of this century, William Dudley Haywood was the hope of the progressive and radical elements in the American labor movement. He died in Moscow, in May, 1928, lonely and forgotten.

Haywood hailed from the Western Federation of Miners. This was a union of metal miners, which had stood the brunt of some of the bitterest and bloodiest labor struggles in America. At one time the Western Federation of Miners was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Later it left the A. F. of L. and conducted its fierce battles alone, detached from the official labor movement. There developed such antagonism between the Western Federation of Miners and the American Federation of Labor that the latter asked its affiliated organizations to give no aid to the striking metal miners.

Those who had participated in the labor movement some thirty years ago have not forgotten such names as Couer d'Alene and Cripple Creek. To us, in the east, those names are still associated with the great strikes of the metal miners, and with the "bull pens," in which the strikers were imprisoned and tortured. The struggles of the Western Federation of Miners made the organization famous and won for it the admiration of the progressive workers throughout the country. Other organizations grouped themselves around the W. F. of M. and formed the Western Labor Union. This body later became the American Labor Union, whose expressed purpose

was to dislodge the American Federation of Labor. However, its influence was confined to the western part of the country.

At that time William D. Haywood was secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, and Charles H. Moyer was president. Moyer was reputed to be a practical man, without theories, philosophies or advanced labor movement ideals. Haywood was known as an idealist. The movement for a new trade union orientation in the west led to the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, in 1905, into which the American Labor Union was merged. The new organization was like a pillar of fire for American labor; it was a new hope. Haywood was its chief spokesman. De Leon, the greatest socialist thinker in America, represented a diminishingly small faction of the socialist movement, the S. L. P.; Debs, the flaming rebel, devoted himself entirely to political activities, the S. P.; Haywood represented the vigorous and aggressive Western Federation of Miners, and he naturally occupied the first place in the new movement. The I.W.W. declared open warfare upon the A. F. of L., and its prospects for success seemed good. The slogan of the I.W.W. was: industrialism, a new life for the labor movement, in form and in spirit.

Shortly after the formation of the I.W.W. the whole labor movement was stunned by a shocking blow. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone (the latter a member of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners) were kidnapped in Denver, Colo., and secretly carried off to Boise, Idaho. They were charged with the death of Governor Steunenberg, of Idaho, who had been killed by a bomb. The kidnappers were afraid of an extradition fight, which would have naturally followed the legal method of arrest on a court warrant, so they resorted to the illegal and criminal method of kidnapping. Once in the power of the kidnappers protests against the conspiracy were useless. The conspirators proceeded with their plans undisturbed. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone suddenly won national fame. American labor was stirred and rose to the defense of the three workers. William E. Borah, now United States Senator from Idaho, led the prosecution, and Clarence Dar-

row, the defense. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were tried and acquitted.

Following this acquittal the progressive workers expected the Western Federation of Miners to renew its struggle for industrial unionism through the I.W.W. What followed was just the opposite. Pettibone, who was sick, died shortly after the trial. Moyer detached himself from the radical movement, and Haywood found himself out of the office of Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners. The latter changed its name to that of International Mine, Metal and Smelter Workers' Union, joined the A. F. of L., and broke completely with its stormy past. Now that organization is small and insignificant. Moyer's name is practically unknown in the labor movement.

Haywood became the prophet of the I.W.W. Much hope was placed in him. He was looked upon as a martyr. There was a halo around his head. He toured the country, spread the gospel of revolutionary unionism and found sympathetic audiences everywhere. But Haywood lacked intellectual ballast. He was a rebel. He rebelled against what is. In his criticism he was clear and sound, but when it came to a positive program, he was confused and vacillating. Although he was a member of the Socialist party, and also of its National Executive Committee, and at one time its candidate for governor of Colorado, he was quite uncertain with respect to political action by labor. In the end, Haywood took a position against such action. The I.W.W., moving towards syndicalism, repudiated political action and made sabotage a cardinal principle. Following a number of splits the I.W.W. dwindled down to a mere shadow and lost all influence. Of the celebrities which it had produced, such as Trautman and St. John, even the names are forgotten. Only Haywood's name survived.

In 1917 one hundred and twelve I.W.W. members, including Haywood, were arrested, convicted and sentenced by Judge Landis, in Chicago, to long prison terms. They were tried under the Espionage Act, a war measure. It was well known at the time that the I.W.W. members were not guilty of interfer-

ing with the progress of the war. The government simply availed itself of the war hysteria in order to destroy the radical "labor agitators." At that time the I.W.W. was conducting vigorous organization activities among the lumberjacks in the Northwest. The activities were, of course, undesirable to the employers and the government. Those migratory lumber workers, who were ruthlessly exploited, responded to the I.W.W. call not because they sympathized with I.W.W. ideas and methods of organization, but because other labor organizations had taken no interest in them. The government was anxious to remove the I.W.W. That it achieved through the Espionage trial. The I.W.W.'s were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment; Haywood to 20 years. That was followed by the slow procedure of appeals to higher courts. Haywood was released under $15,000 bonds. He fled to Russia. There he lived for six years and died, a man sick in body and in soul.

Haywood's flight to Russia was the cause of much discussion. Those who approved of it argued that Haywood's staying in this country would have served no good purpose. He would only have spent his remaining years in jail. He would have made a great sacrifice without any advantage to the labor movement. Those who disapproved of Haywood's act argued that he should not have deserted his comrades who remained behind languishing in jail; as their leader he should have stayed with them to share their lot. By becoming a fugitive from justice he gave a death blow to what still remained of the I.W.W. and violated the confidence of loyal friends who, trusting him, raised $15,000 bail for him. That amount of money was forfeited.

Haywood was not happy in Russia. He was entrusted with the management of the Kuzbas mines but met with failure. He may have lacked the ability necessary to direct a great industrial enterprise, but it is also likely that his heart was not in his work. Haywood was a crushed man. His flight from America was perhaps due to advice of friends whose interest was to spare him years in jail, but in his exile Haywood realized that he had burned all the old bridges behind him and

was unable to construct new ones. He was not known here as a communist. The I.W.W. generally is against the communist movement. The Red Trade Union International has made numerous attempts to win the I.W.W. but without success. Haywood had not been able to merge his life with that of Russia. It is said that in spite of his six years residence in Russia, Haywood remained a stranger to the Russian language. He lived in his American past.

Was the failure of the I.W.W. Haywood's fault? Those who believe in the magic power of the personal leader will condemn him for that failure. Many have the belief that all depends on the leader. No doubt much does depend upon the active people in the movement. But the best and the ablest of them are unable to achieve the impossible. If Haywood, and all those who were identified with the I.W.W., had had a clearer view of the labor movement, a better understanding of the class struggle and of American conditions, the I.W.W. would have surely had a different history. But there is great doubt whether it would, even then, have struck deep roots in our industrial life and built up a great labor power. The American labor movement still has to find itself. Neither De Leon, nor Debs, nor Haywood, nor anyone else, could lead the labor movement by his personal authority to the right road and keep it there. All that individual active workers may be able to do under the circumstances is to carry on educational activities, which will, by their cumulative effect, ultimately bring the American labor movement to the right path. To assume that the fate of millions of people depends upon the wisdom of individuals, except perhaps at a time of acute crisis, means to abandon all faith in human nature. The I.W.W. would perhaps have been a failure, in point of practical achievements, even if it had been led by better and abler men, but it would have left a better heritage for the American labor movement. If Haywood had remained with his fellow victims in America and shared with them their common misfortune, he would have left behind him a different and nobler memory.

June, 1928.

17

DANIEL DE LEON—PATHFINDER

Daniel De Leon, the supreme intellectual figure of American socialism, was born of a rich feudal family in the South American republic of Venezuela. He was educated in American and European universities, and was for a time associate professor of international law in Columbia University. Social standing, education and extraordinary ability gave promise of a brilliant future. But De Leon sacrificed everything, allowed himself to be disinherited of his family fortune, and entered into a life of want and hardship, when he decided to join the labor movement. He came to this movement not because of, but despite his economic interests. To join the socialist movement in those days did not add to one's prestige or popularity.

De Leon first came in contact with the movement in the famous Henry George campaign of 1886. Yet, despite his sympathetic leanings and fiery temperament, he did not rush into the ranks of labor. He had first to feel that he was prepared for his next step. He stopped working over new lectures for his classes, and for three full years gave himself over to the study of Karl Marx. It was characteristic of De Leon to plumb to the very depths, to sound the very deepest foundations, before he committed himself. With his followers he would continually press this point: "If you are going to talk about anything, be sure you know your subject thoroughly; otherwise, it is better not to begin. Only when you are sure of your ground will you have no fear of being beaten by your opponent."

His profound and thorough study of Karl Marx made De Leon the greatest Marxist in America. De Leon absorbed not only the letter of Marx, but his very spirit. The works of a man will, of course, sink into one's memory after continual repetition; but the spirit will not come except by way of understanding. It was his supreme ability to grasp the spirit and essence of Marxism that so distinguished De Leon. The teachings of Marx De Leon held to be not a mere collection of printed works, but a living soul which is constantly radiating light and rendering understandable things which otherwise seemed unexplainable. And Marx himself he considered not so much an infallible authority as a great spirit which is guiding the working class on its onward march. But while guided by him the workers must be able to stand on their own feet, move onward by their own efforts, and themselves overcome all difficulties and opposition in their way, in the light of conditions existing in their respective countries.

In De Leon's time the Marxists of America turned to Germany for inspiration. The tactics of the socialist movement in that country were to be followed by socialists in all other countries. De Leon was the first American Marxist to declare that for the development of socialism every land will have to evolve tactics suited to its own peculiar conditions. He illustrated his point somewhat as follows: If a visitor from Europe should come here, and go for a walk, he would very likely take an umbrella if he noticed the wind coming from the west; and he would carry the umbrella to no purpose. In Europe the Atlantic Ocean is on the west, and a western wind brings rain. In America, however, a western wind is dry. On the other hand, when the wind comes from the east, our visitor, acting on his European experience, would leave his umbrella at home, and he would come home soaking wet. Nature's weather laws are the same here as in Europe, and the world is not topsy-turvy here, as our visitor might possibly expect. It is simply that the Atlantic is east of America and west of Europe. Marxism, similarly, holds alike everywhere, but we must understand conditions right here, if we are to understand how socialism can

succeed in this country. It was from this clear conception of Marxism and its application under our own conditions that De Leon's unique position and rôle in our labor movement developed.

One might say that De Leon was in advance of his time, if such a thing were possible for an intellectual leader. But we cannot say of such intellectual leaders that they come too soon. It is simply that they come at the beginning of a new period. Theirs is the work of pioneers. It is for them to blaze new paths. That was De Leon's mission. And, as is usual with pioneers, De Leon's fate was no happy one. It was aggravated in his case because of his extraordinary personality.

De Leon saw clearly the direction which American labor must take in order to achieve its liberation. And he called upon the working class to follow that road. He called, and they answered with abuse. That disillusioned him and hurt him terribly, but did not deter him from continuing to sound the call. How could one blame the masses? It was no wickedness on their part that prompted their action, it was only their ignorance. Education was the remedy. De Leon started upon a campaign for more widespread education among the workers.

Breaking with the traditions of American socialism, De Leon declared that the industrial struggle of the working class was the all important one, and that the political side of the struggle was but an outgrowth of the industrial. The two movements must, however, be carried on at the same time and supplement one another. The prevailing view was that the political struggle was the more important one; that that alone would free the workers from capitalism; that the economic movement would not and could not lead to liberation. De Leon took his stand flatly against this older view. The workers must be organized on a class conscious basis both politically and industrially. Without the political movement, the economic organization of the workers, if it should take upon itself the task of abolishing capitalism, would become a conspirative organization, and thereby open wide the gates for provocateurs and spies, who would assassinate the labor movement. Without the

class conscious economic organizations, however, the political movement would collapse on the day of its victory, because it would not have the backing of the necessary physical strength, without which such political victory cannot be maintained. That physical power, as understood by De Leon, lies only in the economic organization of labor. It lies in the fact that the labor unions are so organized industrially that on the day of the final victory of the working class on the political field they can assume responsibility for the entire system of production and distribution and carry it on without interruption. In order to be able to carry on the industrial activities of society, the organization of the workers must be so constituted as to fit the modern system of production. The craft union is not so constituted; the industrial union is.

De Leon assigned to the economic organization of labor a great rôle in the future society, in the free republic of labor. The union, said he, is the framework of the coming society. The industrial organizations will constitute the parliament of the future. Today, legislative bodies are based on geographical representation. This is simply a remnant of olden time, and has no reason now. There are no geographical interests but there are economic interests. Economic interests are not confined to geographical divisions; they run across them, and representation for them must be through the various industries. The parliament of civilization will, therefore, consist of representatives from the different industries and useful occupations. Hence, as we build the industrial organizations we are building the component parts of the future society, and through their continuous development they grow into socialism. Therefore, when the final political victory of the working class is achieved, it will be unnecessary to reconstruct society; it will have been remade. The fully developed industrial unions will fulfill their historic mission and carry on production without a stop. There will then be no need for the political party. It will disappear with the disappearance of the *political state.*

De Leon was the first to expound the ideas of industrial

unionism, though the name came from others, and at a later time. In De Leon's conception of the rôle of the industrial labor organization may be recognized the chief principles of the Russian Soviet system.

It is interesting to note that one of the last meetings which Daniel De Leon addressed was the great clothing workers' meeting in Kessler's Theatre, New York, in the general strike of 1913. He was also scheduled to speak at meetings of the Brotherhood of Tailors after the strike, but was prevented from doing so by the illness from which he never recovered.

De Leon loved the working class with all the blind love of absolute faith. The working class was holy to him. He said that an educated person must give the workers the full benefit of his education, because their ignorance was due to no fault of theirs but to poverty. Had he been a sentimentalist he would have poured out his love in beautiful words of praise, and this would have brought him great personal popularity. But he was a scholar and a fighter. He attacked mercilessly the old and outworn tactics of labor. He hated dishonest labor union officials as one would personal enemies. He preached new methods with which to give the working class the power to fight and to conquer.

The Socialist Labor party, whose guiding spirit De Leon was for a quarter of a century, was organized in 1877. It split in the 80's. The Cincinnati faction, which had broken away from the party, disappeared after a few years. De Leon came to the S. L. P. in 1890, and assumed the editorship of its official paper, *The People*. In 1899 occurred the party's second split, which proved fatal. The Socialist party arose to dislodge the Socialist Labor party.

The disintegration of the Socialist Labor party, as a result of the 1899 split, slowly at first, but more rapidly in later years, had a crushing effect on De Leon personally. When the passions aroused by the bitter warfare within the movement wore off, De Leon realized that the catastrophe was avoidable. He would have given much to reunite the Socialist forces. But his personal strength was, in this case, his weakness. It made unity

impossible. De Leon's opponents in the Socialist party feared that his powerful personality would dominate a united party as it dominated the S. L. P. That fear proved an insurmountable obstacle. The two parties of socialism remained separate and hostile. The Socialist Labor party is now a small group, little known in the labor movement, and with no influence. The unselfish devotion of this group to the cause of socialism is deserving of greater success.

De Leon's last years were tragic. The *Daily People,* launched in 1900, which he had edited, went under. His party shrank to insignificance. He was forsaken and abused by men in whom he had full trust, and who had risen to prominence in the socialist movement by virtue of his aid. His memory has remained dear to only a small group of people. De Leon died a sad and lonely man.

De Leon hated American capitalism, as he hated all capitalism, but he loved America. He looked hopefully to the American constitution. It was his belief that the provision for changing the constitution by amendment held out the possibility of a peaceful social revolution in this country. Theoretically, at least, there would be no need for the workers to resort to physical force. "Physical forcists" was a term of contempt applied by De Leon to those in the labor movement who refused to avail themselves of civilized methods and preached violence. If physical force should be used when the working class came into power, it would be by its enemies, not by the workers themselves. De Leon said: When the American colonists proclaimed their independence, that act made the revolution an accomplished fact. That was a peaceful act. It was the repudiated régime that resorted to force, in order to override the will of the people. When the Colonists took up arms it was not to carry out a revolution, but to defend it against its armed enemies. Likewise did the election of Lincoln determine at the polls the issue of slavery extension and national unity, which determination was later confirmed by the sword. It was the opponents of the Union that resorted to violence and brought about the Civil War, not the Union itself. The Union made its

decision in a peaceful and constitutional way. Under the constitution it is possible for the working class to assume power in a peaceful manner. As the workers are the bulk of the nation, and organized on the principle of industrial unionism, which insures uninterrupted production, their enemies would be unable to offer such physical resistance to the popular will as was the case in the Revolutionary War and the Civil War.

With respect to Russia, De Leon expressed his sentiments as follows, when greeting a Russian revolutionist in this country, shortly after the 1905 revolution: "In this country we have legal means to organize and educate the masses. In Russia those rights are denied to you. You must do your work illegally, conspiratively, and you are driven to violence. If I were in Russia I would do as you are doing. The beast of Czarism cannot be dealt with otherwise."

With De Leon's views on the above matters known, can we speculate as to what would have been his attitude towards the Soviet régime, if De Leon were alive today? It is my belief that in the present orientation in the international labor movement, with the very sharp division in opinion with respect to Soviet Russia, De Leon's attitude would have been the one which is now represented by Otto Bauer, the brilliant intellectual leader of the Austrian Socialist movement, which is, briefly, as follows: The present Soviet method is a product of Russian history and conditions. That would be impossible in Western Europe or the United States. Democracy and civil rights, enjoyed by the workers in those countries, are a precious asset to the labor movement. Soviet Russia is building up, for the peoples of that vast country, a life which is free of capitalist rule. The young Russian generation—the Russia of tomorrow—is growing up in a socialist labor atmosphere, with all that that implies. The workers of the world must, therefore, stand by Soviet Russia. That would be in keeping with all that we know of De Leon.

December, 1932.

18

E. V. DEBS—GREAT AMERICAN REBEL

Eugene Victor Debs was one of three outstanding figures in American political life in his time. His two contemporaries were William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson. All three had been candidates for the presidency of the United States. Wilson alone, the last one to appear on the scene, succeeded. Byran ran three times, without success. Debs never hoped to occupy the White House. All three now belong to eternity, each one having left a different story behind him.

Bryan leaped to national prominence with astonishing suddenness in 1896, at the age of 36, when he captured the Democratic nomination for President and thrilled the country with his "Don't crucify mankind on a Cross of Gold" speech. Bryan, the golden-tongued prophet of "Free Silver," "Sixteen to One" and "Anti-Trust" fame, became the idol of millions of American farmers, small business men and the "common people" generally. He became the "Great Commoner."

Woodrow Wilson, with his scholarly attainments and brilliant eloquence, towered head and shoulders above the prevailing type of politician. He appeared in the political arena late in life, though he had entertained the presidential ambition for many years before.

Bryan died a fanatic reactionary. Wilson ended a brilliant career as a political bankrupt.

How different is the story of the socially humblest of the three, Eugene V. Debs! While Bryan became a shell of his former self, and Wilson, like Maeterlinck's Destiny, dwindled

almost to the vanishing point, Debs steadily grew in moral stature and was at the maximum of his height when death came.

I heard the name of Debs for the first time in 1894 in connection with the great Pullman Strike. The newspapers reported that Debs had called upon all friends of the strikers to put little bows on their lapels as a symbol of their sympathy with the strikers and thus give the lie to those who declared that American labor was opposed to the strike. I promptly obtained a small white bow, made of narrow ribbon, pinned it to my coat lapel and wore it with pride until the end of the strike. In my mind the name of Eugene V. Debs became associated with rebellion against industrial oppression. My young heart went out to the man who fought so bravely for the rights of the workers though the official labor movement was against him and the strike.

President Cleveland sent troops to Chicago, over the protest of the liberal Governor, John P. Altgeld, and Judge Grosscup issued an injunction. The strike was broken, the American Railway Union crushed, and Debs and his associates on the union's Board of Directors were jailed.

I was in the large assembly hall of Battery D, in Chicago, when a reception was given to Debs upon his release from Woodstock jail. Thousands of people waited patiently in a pelting rain for the doors of the meeting hall to open. The crowd was too large for the vast hall. I was among the fortunate ones to get in. My heart fairly leaped with joy when my hero appeared on the platform. The witty Tom Morgan was chairman. Among the nationally prominent speakers were the Christ-like Henry D. Lloyd, millionaire and author of the book "A Strike of Millionaires Against Miners," and the old but fiery populist Governor Waite of Colorado. Morgan was humorous; Lloyd, aristocratic, and Waite, flaming. Waite's speech aroused tremendous enthusiasm. Debs' speech did not seem to rise to the heights of my socialism, particularly in view of the report that Debs had become a socialist in jail, but it more than made up in temperament.

I had hoped to see Debs join the socialist movement, the movement of conscious working class protest. I was mortified to see him a year later, in 1896, follow Bryan, whom we socialists considered a brilliant reactionary.

Later Debs organized the American Social Democracy, and, in true fashion of the utopian visionary, inaugurated a movement for socialist colonization. He naively appealed to John D. Rockefeller for a gift of $50,000 for the socialist colonization scheme. The awakening came quickly. Debs left the "Debs movement," parted company with Colonel Hinton, the colonization expert, and organized a new political party. After the split in the Socialist Labor party in 1899 Debs' party joined forces with those who had broken away from the S. L. P. and formed the Socialist party. I was much pained to see Debs go against my party instead of with it. We became political opponents. In the atmosphere of factional hate and bitterness of that time that implied more than the literary meaning of the word.

Debs' trade union position was so much like that of the S. L. P.'s that at one time an S. L. P. convention seriously considered a proposition to endorse Debs' nomination for president of the United States.

At the organizing convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, in 1905, De Leon, the head of the S. L. P., and Debs, the head of the S. P., appeared as participants and publicly shook hands on the platform. That was taken as an omen of the coming unity in the socialist movement, but it never materialized.

The poison of factionalism soon began to eat its way into the I.W.W. and the organization of great promise and hope became degenerated and demoralized. Debs withdrew. His name was rarely, if ever, associated with factionalism. Debs was no politician and no factionalist. He would have made a miserable failure of it if he had tried his hand in the petty political intrigues which keep the labor movement divided. Debs was a revolutionary evangelist, a working class inspirationalist. In that he was superb, without a peer. He disagreed

with his party on the trade union question and on other matters, but he remained loyal to the party. He was unable to fight his own people. They were to him comrades with whom he agreed on some matters and differed on others. He had tolerance for their views and asked of them tolerance for his. His fighting powers he applied exclusively to the iniquitous industrial system which enslaves the most useful members of society, the workers. War to the knife against the system but comradeship and harmony in the ranks of labor. To Debs, his party was a rostrum from which he sent forth to the American workers his message of insurgency and rebellion against economic oppression. There was Debs and there was his party. They did not always blend and did not always speak the same language. Debs spoke his own language, whatever his party may have spoken. When he was on the platform he was Debs —all that that meant spiritually and emotionally to the workers of America. His hearers believed him, they were captivated by his sincerity and kept spellbound by his unaffected eloquence. It was possible to disagree *in toto* with the Socialist party and agree with Debs. I was never a political party comrade of Debs but was always his comrade in socialism, regardless of party affiliation. He was outside and above factionalism; he was the herald of working class solidarity.

One Democratic president, Grover Cleveland, sent troops against Debs and the American Railway Union and broke their strike.

One Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt, denounced Debs as an undesirable citizen—obviously, undesirable to the ruling class.

Another Democratic president, Woodrow Wilson, who, with Czar Nicholas of Russia, sought to make the world safe for democracy, threw Debs into a federal penitentiary.

Another Republican president, Warren G. Harding, pardoned Debs, when death seemed near, but lacked the human generosity to return to him the citizenship which had been taken from him.

One judge, many years ago, sent Debs to a state prison, be-

cause he remained loyal to his fellow workers in spite of a strike-breaking injunction. Another judge, several years ago, sent Debs to a federal prison, because he dared say openly what millions of American citizens were thinking secretly; because he dared, in the midst of war, preach peace and human brotherhood and denounce war and bloodshed. Who knows or honors the names of those judges? The name of their victim is known and honored in all lands.

As a trade unionist, Debs sought to elevate the American trade union movement to the high level of class consciousness and class solidarity. He held the red banner of socialism above factional labels and trade marks. By doing so he gave expression to the sentiments of many workers, who, under existing conditions, are themselves inarticulate.

November, 1926.

19

FACTIONALISM: OLD AND NEW

THE trade union movement is not a piece of inanimate mechanism to be manipulated, experimented with, taken apart and reconstructed at will. It is a living organism of flesh and blood. It is the same in America as in all other countries, as men and women here are the same as elsewhere. It is, however, unlike other trade union movements just as environments, habits of mind and modes of living here are unlike those in other parts of the world. The extraordinary conditions of the World War brought greater prosperity to American capitalism than to any other, and also to American labor. The American workers sacrificed less than European workers, because this country was on the battlefield but a short time, and benefited much more from adequate employment and high wages. The effects of the war left no such lasting impression on the workers in America as they did on the workers in Europe. In fact, the lessons of the war were quickly forgotten by the workers here. It was different, however, with the American employers. The "open shop" movement has gained momentum since the war, and many employers, as a result of their war experiences, recognized the company union as the most potent factor in the "open shop" drive. The trade union movement, which had attained its greatest numerical strength during the war, has lost heavily since then while company unionism has been steadily gaining.

The company union has passed the experimental stage and proved a success for the employers, in a large number of cases.

It is a standing challenge to the trade union movement. While in European countries the division among the workers is chiefly along such lines as "red" (progressive) and "yellow" (reactionary) trade unions, with the former by far outnumbering the latter, in America the contest is between the workers' own trade union and the employers' company made union, with the latter in the ascendancy. This one contrast between the labor movements in Europe and in America is proof that the conditions affecting these movements are not the same here as they are there.

When I was in Italy, in 1920, I met revolutionists and reformists in the Italian labor movement. Those terms were not mere trade-marks. "Revolution or reform" was a vital issue in the Italian labor movement at that time. The organized workers actually took a vote on whether the unions should hold the seized metal factories and go through with the entire revolutionary program or return them to the employers and stop the revolution. In other European countries there was no such vote taken but the lines of demarcation in the labor movement are clear and unmistakable. In the American trade union movement the terms "revolutionary" and "reformist," "left" and "right," have no more meaning than the names "Republican party" and "Democratic party" in American politics. Does the name "Republican party" imply that that party stands for the republic and its rival for a monarchy? Does the name "Democratic party" signify that that party stands for democracy and the opposing party for aristocracy? Not at all. The names give no indication of existing conditions. Both parties fight for power. They must have separate names in order to be distinguished in some way from each other. And since they must have distinguishing names they choose names of distinction. They must, also, from time to time, *create* issues in order to give the appearance of justification for the fight for power. Likewise with the American labor movement factionalism at the present time.

Factionalism is not a new phenomenon in the labor movement. It is almost as old as the movement itself and will prob-

ably never disappear entirely. But in the past an issue did reflect real conditions and vital principles, as, for instance, the fight for industrial unionism. Craft unionism is an evil in the American labor movement for which industrial unionism was proposed as a cure. There was bitter warfare between the adherents of the two forms of unionism. The socialist movement was split on the rock of the trade union problem. There was a fundamental difference between the two kinds of unionism both in form and in spirit. The industrial union movement, as an organized force, failed, but the principle of industrial unionism has been vindicated. It is universally recognized as sound though not generally applied. When the fight was on all knew what each form of unionism meant. Who can now say positively and definitely what "leftism" and "rightism" mean, what they stand for? These are not American terms; that is, they have not grown out of American conditions. They were brought, to some extent, into the American trade union vocabulary, in imitation of the European labor movements, where those terms have significance. They were brought in after the war, especially since the October Revolution in Russia.

"Left" and "right" are relative conceptions. "Left" is assumed to stand for progressivism or radicalism; "right" for conservatism or reactionism. But what is "left" in one case may be "right" in another, and vice versa. Borah and La Follette are "lefts" in the Republican party; they would hardly be regarded as such even in a moderate socialist party. The American trade union movement has not accepted the terms "right" and "left." In only one section of the labor movement, the needle trades unions, have those terms won common usage. But even there they represent no clear and concrete expression of principles and ideals; even there they denote only political line-up. "Lefts" are those who follow the leadership of a certain political party; "rights" are those who do not follow that leadership.

The attitude of the Amalgamated towards the "right" and "left" factions has been different from that of other unions.

We neither endorsed nor opposed any faction. We refused to identify ourselves with either of them and were unwilling to assume responsibility for their conduct. We have taken the broad labor movement position of working with those who are willing to work with us. We do hope that the time will come when the American workers will have an all-inclusive labor movement, with all branches responsible to a coordinating central authority and the latter responsive to the desires of the former. That is an ideal yet to be attained.

The fact that our organization, while thriving and growing, has been obliged to stand all these years alone and unattached because of no fault of its own is sufficient proof of the divided state of our labor movement. Under such circumstances it is our sacred duty to guard our own organization from all danger irrespective of what others might do. By guarding and preserving our own union we have served ourselves and the labor movement generally. The Amalgamated adopted its own policy with respect to factionalism, which translated into plain English means: Preservation of the integrity of the organization, enforcement of proper organization discipline, and no ban on political views or affiliation of individual members. Under that policy both factions have had ample opportunity to test their principles, if there were any involved. The test of experience has shown conclusively that there are no principles involved in the present factional warfare.

One pet phrase used by the "left wing" in its attacks upon our organization, as well as upon others, is that of "class collaboration." This phrase is foreign and without meaning to the average American trade unionist. "Class collaboration" on the industrial field begins not with the "labor leader" at the union's office, or at the conference room, but with the workers at their jobs in the factory. Every worker who holds a job and works for wages "collaborates" with the employer in creating profits for him. That "class collaboration" ceases only when work stops, because of a strike, lockout or lack of business. But then wages stop, too. Can anyone say how this all-important phase of "class collaboration" can be abolished

now, immediately, by any labor union, except by shutting down the factory; that is, by starving the workers? Have the unions which are controlled by the "left wing" abolished it?

One count in the "class collaboration" indictment is the collective bargaining arrangement between trade unions and employers, which includes arbitration under an impartial chairman and adjustment of differences with employers by negotiation. The recent fur workers' strike in New York, led by the "left wing" group exclusively, was settled through the mediation of a wealthy fur merchant. A collective bargaining agreement with the employers was signed, with the usual arbitration provisions and all "class collaboration" trappings. Apparently, the "left wing" officers of the fur workers' union have been as loyal to their "class collaboration" agreement as "right wing" officers to theirs, for we have not heard of strikes in the fur industry since the signing of that agreement.

The "class collaboration" in the settlement of the "left wing"-led cloak strike in New York amounted to a class surrender. Under that settlement agreement the employers were given joint control with the union of the union's employment bureau, which is a new departure in American trade unionism. Where the employer shares control of a union's labor bureau the danger of blacklisting for active union members is always present. During the life of the agreement the employers are allowed three shop "reorganizations" with the power to discharge, without cause and without the right of appeal on the part of the workers, up to ten per cent of the number of workers in the plant, an aggregate of thirty per cent, in the slack months of June and December. This amounts to wholesale discharge for any cause, including loyalty to the union, or for no cause at all, purely as an exercise of arbitrary power in order to impress the workers with the helplessness of their organization. This dangerous power to discharge thirty per cent of the crew within a short time, and when there are no immediate prospects of getting other employment, is enough to throw the fear of the employer into the heart of every worker and make a slave of him. A con-

cession like that by a non-"left wing" officer would have been denounced by the "left wing" as treason to the workers.

The power to appoint the impartial chairman, if the union and the employers fail to make a choice, is vested with the governor, whoever he may be. This is a matter of utmost importance to the union. New York may have an "open shopper" as governor. He will have power to appoint the impartial chairman if the employers ("on application of either party," says the agreement) ask him to do so. This amounts to compulsory arbitration, which has always been fought by the American trade unions. I am willing to assume that the "left wing" leaders of the cloak strike agreed to that "class collaboration" settlement because they were unable to get a better settlement. But if "class collaboration," whatever the alibi, is accepted by the "lefts," it surely cannot be treason and betrayal when accepted by the "rights." Hence, so-called "class collaboration," as things are today, is not an issue of principle as between "lefts" and "rights" in the labor movement.

On the political field, however, it was the "lefts" who led the way in "class collaboration" when they initiated the propaganda for the La Follette candidacy for president, in 1924, long before the trade unions took it up.

Our unemployment insurance system is assailed because the workers contribute to the fund as well as the employers. The furriers' union dropped their demand for unemployment insurance and thus made to the employers a gift of large sums of money, the sums which they would have been required to pay into the fund.

We are also attacked because we favor standards of production and because we own banks. The standard of production policy was adopted by our Boston convention in 1920, and authority to open Amalgamated banks was voted by the Chicago convention, in 1922. At both conventions the "left wing" followers in the Amalgamated were strongly represented. All action taken was with their approval, cooperation and support. The "left wing" movement generally was, on those occasions, so overflowing with enthusiasm for the Amal-

gamated that that alone aroused resentment and antagonism among the "right wing" partisans. The greatest demonstrations of friendship for the Amalgamated were made by the "left wing" adherents at the Chicago convention, where the officers reported a heavy cut in the workers' wages between the 1920 and 1922 conventions. As to our banks, our accusers have not shown a single instance in which the industrial activities of the Amalgamated, or the interests of the members, have been neglected because of the banks.

One of the cardinal principles in the "left wing" program is that of the shop delegate system. Our 1924 convention at Philadelphia took action to permit the introduction of that system into our organizational structure, or any other system that would not conflict with our constitution. Three years have passed since that convention and I am still to hear of the first attempt by anyone in the direction of the shop delegate system for the Amalgamated. The fact that those who have made that a partisan issue have not availed themselves of the opportunity given them by the Amalgamated leads to the conclusion that the factional advocates of the shop delegate system are not sincere.

Some of the activities of the non-"left wing" unionists are frowned at because where they succeed they make life under capitalism more tolerable and therefore give capitalism a longer lease of life. The "left wing" claims credit for the progress made towards the forty-hour work week and professes to aim at the thirty-six-hour work week. Are those improvements calculated to make life under capitalism *less* tolerable? Indeed, if the labor movement cannot hold out hope of making life more tolerable for the workers under any industrial system there is very little likelihood of the workers ever heeding the call of the movement.

April, 1927.

20

FACTIONALISM: LEADERSHIP AND OTHER CATCHWORDS

THE "left wing" has made a fetish of "leadership." Never were leaders credited with such amazing powers for good and evil and the rank and file charged implicitly with such utter impotence as at present by the "left wing." All the evils, known and unknown, are traced to the "labor leader." The millennium will be here as soon as that "leader" will give his consent. If everything depends upon the "leader" the implication is that nothing depends upon the rank and file. Hence, the "leader" is everything; the rank and file, nothing. In truth, the so-called "leader" is but an expression of the people whom he represents. He may be a little ahead of them or a little behind them, but he must be close enough to them to be of them. He probably follows more often than he leads, even if there is always an appearance of leadership. Debs was admired for his spirit and eloquence, but he was not a leader. His trade union activities ended in 1894. Nor was he a leader of the socialists. He had the courage to preach industrial unionism while his comrades were fighting it, but he was unable to lead them to industrialism. One lesson which we have learned from the history of the American labor movement is that the influence of reactionary leadership is not destroyed, not even weakened—more often than not, strengthened—by concentrating on the "leaders" personally. A particular "leader" might be destroyed by personal attacks, but his successor is likely to be of the same type, perhaps a worse specimen, be-

cause he will be a product of the immediate factional and personal animus.

It will be difficult for the student of the present-day labor movement factionalism to discover in it a sign of principle. The charges made daily in the factional press are entirely of the character-assassinating category: graft, gangsterism, betrayal, etc. Where such charges are made indiscriminately, and without supporting evidence, the only effect of it is to discredit the honest man and shield the dishonest man. When the other side replies to the accusers with similar charges we have a perfect state of chaos and demoralization. That is precisely the situation in the needle trades unions today. Never were labor movement principles and ideals so discredited as they are today. Never was the labor movement further away from a true labor party than it is now. Even among those who are convinced of the necessity for independent political action by labor the temptation to steer clear from such action is strong because of the discouraging effects of present factionalism.

The extremists in both factions have made the gangster the symbol of the labor movement, and New York papers speak of "left wing" gangsters and "right wing" gangsters. The movement has been dragged into the gutter. Never was heresy hunting more encouraged in the labor movement than it is today. When William Dunne was expelled from the American Federation of Labor convention in Portland, Oregon, a few years ago, because of his communist affiliation, it aroused much resentment in the labor movement; now, the expulsion of workers from union membership for being communists is accepted as a matter of course. Large numbers of workers who disapprove of the so-called "right wing" policy against the communists keep silently in the background, not because of cowardice, but, because the reckless and character-assassinating methods of the "left wing" group make it impossible for them to assert themselves. They do not wish to be identified with the "left wing" practices. The inactivity of those workers is a distinct loss to the movement.

I might be asked: "You disapprove of the conduct of the

'left wing'; does that imply approval of what is done against them?"

My answer is an emphatic *No! It does not!* But while the "left wingers" fear the strong measures taken against them because it hurts their faction and their party, never mind what happens to the labor movement, I fear them because I see in them great danger for all progressive elements. It is one thing to discipline members for offenses committed against the labor movement, it is quite another matter to punish them for political views or affiliation. It may be the popular thing just now to hound communists, because they have succeeded in making themselves generally unpopular in the American labor movement, but will not the same sword smite also the socialist, the industrial unionist, the follower of any labor movement faith that is at variance with the prevailing creed, when the communists will have been finished with? We still remember the time when the socialists were hounded in the labor movement. Those socialists live in a fools' paradise who imagine that they are safe for all time. They have been let alone only because the communists have, for the time being, proved to be a better target. Those socialists who may find comfort in certain methods now used against the communists should think of the possibility of themselves falling victims to those methods. The guillotine in the French revolution was used alternately by one group against another. The socialists were fought in the past, they may be fought again in the future.

If I give so much attention at this time to the "left wing" group in the trade union movement, it is because this group is responsible for the present state of chaos. It has provoked some persons in the labor movement to do things which otherwise they would not have done, and given others an opportunity to do things which otherwise they could not have had. The methods used by both sides are destructive. But while the "left wingers" deem it proper to charge all non-"left wingers" with gangsterism, corruption and betrayal, they rise in their wrath when payment is made to them in the same coin.

But the "left wingers" cannot denounce police bribing charges against them while they are charging their accusers with gangster hiring. If the Trade Union Educational League calls trade union conferences to war upon the "rights," it should accept it with proper grace when the "rights" call similar conferences to fight the "lefts." Clearly, what is sauce for the goose is also sauce for the gander. In both cases, the "lefts" were the ones to set the example and the "rights" to follow it. The "lefts" have sown the wind and are reaping the whirlwind. Those who are free from present factionalism have grievances against both sides.

The "left wingers" seem to follow the rule that the end justifies the means. This rule, which discards all elements of ethics and decency, can be vindicated only by results. What are the results in the present case? The "left wing" has alienated all its friends in the labor movement, made a hopeless mess in the only section of the labor movement in which it has established its rule, the needle trades organizations, discredited all higher labor movement ideals, played into the hands of the reactionary elements, and has all but destroyed the sentiment within the labor movement for the recognition of Russia by the United States government. Russia has no worse enemy in this country than its self-chosen champions.

The methods used in the present factional fight can be justified neither in ethics nor in practical achievements. In this country, where relatively few workers are organized in trade unions, and where company unionism is menacing labor unionism, the most urgent immediate task is to organize the workers. Let those to whom the labor movement is dear and sacred apply themselves to the work of reconstruction. This is the call of duty!

April, 1927.

PART TWO: LABOR DEVELOPMENTS, PROBLEMS AND PERSONALITIES—ABROAD

21

LABOR IN GERMANY OF 1931

THE *Reichsbanner* (National Standard) held a demonstration on a Sunday afternoon early last October, at the famous Lustgarten Square, Berlin, in front of the royal palace. It rained the whole day. But the weather man showed a special kindness to the great crowd and suspended the rain for the duration of the meeting. German efficiency *is* remarkable. That meeting was an unusual experience for any American, and I am glad I "took it in."

The *Reichsbanner,* like our American Legion, is an organization of former soldiers. But there the parallel ends. Comrade Plettl, who was kind enough to take me to the *Kundgebung,* said that the membership of the *Banner* is eighty per cent or more social democratic; the others are liberal republicans.

The nazis, too, have their military organization, the *Sturmtruppen* (shock troops). Nazis is a contraction of *Nationalsozialisten.* The National Socialist German Labor party is a post-war product. Its military organization has a young membership. The young men may have more enthusiasm and emotionalism than the *Reichsbanner* members, but the latter have smelled powder and are seasoned fighters.

At this juncture, a word of warning to the American reader: When you see the name "Social Democrat" or "Socialist," you should know that a socialist is meant, but when you see the name "Socialist" qualified by some adjective, be on guard, as it might represent the very opposite of what the words mean

to you. The term "radical socialist" in France is not intended to describe a socialist extremist. Our American equivalent for the French "radical socialist" is the plain and prosaic "liberal." It is much worse in Germany. There "National Socialist" stands for anti-socialism and anti-Semitism and even fascism. To some extent the Ku Klux Klan is the American prototype of the German National Socialist party.

This party, which is thriving on the justified discontent of the suffering German masses, is being used by the large employers as a means for fighting the labor movement. The phenomenal success achieved by the National Socialists in the September elections made it the second strongest political party in the country—next to the Social Democratic party. That success, which shook the Reich and amazed the world, threw the nazis into a state of intoxication. They spoke and behaved accordingly. Their leader, Adolf Hitler, drew word pictures of bleeding heads rolling in the sand. In their physical violence against Jews they were guided, or misguided, by Jewish sounding names. Thus they smashed the windows of Berlin's leading department store because it is known as Wertheim's, though it is not owned by Jews. The wild conduct of the nazis was the occasion for the great demonstration on the Lustgarten Square.

The *Reichsbanner* members came in their own uniforms and in military formation. A tremendous mass of sympathizers was there to greet them and hear their message. The vast square was crowded with people. Two officers of the *Banner* spoke and then the entire audience sang the organization's hymn. The speeches were an appeal to reason, order, peace. That appeal was coupled with an admonition to the nazis and their *Sturmtruppen* that if they persisted in their rough-house tactics, the *Reichsbanner* would show them who is boss. I was unable to catch the words of the hymn, but its music was calm. It certainly lacked the exciting tune of the *Marseillaise* and even the less stirring one of the *Internationale*.

That meeting, more than anything else that I saw in Germany, impressed me as a symbol of the labor movement in that country. The German labor movement is strong in num-

bers and in spirit; remarkably well disciplined, has a clear understanding of its aims and mission, is not looking for a scrap but capable of giving a good account of itself if forced into one. There can be no mistake as to the *power* of the German labor movement. It has the strongest political party in the country and a very strong trade union movement.

The Social Democratic party did not escape the splitting sickness with which the socialist parties in so many countries have been afflicted since the War, but the constitution of the trade union movement was strong enough to throw off that dread disease. Thus, while there is quite a strong Communist party alongside of the Social Democratic party, the trade union ranks have remained closed and united. There are, of course, non-socialist trade unions, the so-called yellow unions, but those are of old standing, and not a result of post-war factionalism within the socialist labor movement. When one speaks of the German trade union movement he speaks of the *Freie Gewerkschaften* (free trade unions), which are free from non-labor influences. This movement has successfully withstood the devastating storm of factionalism, which has annihilated the labor movement in Italy, all but destroyed the labor movement in France, and greatly weakened the movement in other countries. The fact that the German trade union movement has remained intact and that the Social Democratic party, despite division in its ranks, has maintained its position as the largest political party in the country, shows the wonderful vitality of both branches of the labor movement.

The German Social Democratic movement occupies today a peculiar position both because of its history, and because, before the war, it was the teacher of the international labor movement in the science of revolutionary socialism. The movement traces its beginnings back to 1863, when Ferdinand Lassalle founded the General Society of German Workers. The socialist movement was driven underground by Bismarck, the man of blood and iron. But it throve there. Persecution gave it strength. When Bismarck, in despair, asked the Reichstag to put a sharper edge on the teeth in his anti-socialist law, the

Reichstag balked. The anti-labor parties had obediently enacted the law against the socialist and labor movement, as dictated by Bismarck, but when he demanded more and more they began to fear possible consequences to themselves. Thus, the Social Democratic party, grown up in martyrdom, was spared greater sufferings by the refusal of enemy parties to continue to serve as Bismarck's tools.

To see that party of the disinherited occupy the position of the first and strongest party in the country is exhilarating. But it is not quite so exhilarating, to say the least, to see the party which has, for many years, been the victim of arbitrariness, oppression, and persecution, support, by its action or inaction, militarism, navalism, and dictatorship. That has been the sad spectacle since the war. Against the votes of the socialist members of the Reichstag the government would have been unable to pass its bills for armored cruisers. In the most recent cases, last month, the majority of the party's delegation in the Reichstag decided to abstain from voting. One has a right to ask: "Why abstain? If armored cruisers are in the interests of the workers, vote *for* them; if they are not, vote *against* them—but vote!" The answer is: It is un-socialistic to vote for cruisers, but the interests of "democracy" forbid to vote against them and thereby overthrow the government; therefore, give the government a majority by not voting. Which is, of course, the same as voting for the cruiser bill. The party of the *Vaterlandslosen-Gesellen* (fellows without a country), as the Kaiser called the socialists, is today the only big political party that is loyal to the state.

What a strange situation! Before the war the Social Democratic party fought an anti-labor government in the name of democracy, and the party grew strong and powerful; since the war the party has used that very strength in support of anti-labor governments in the same name of democracy. During the war, the Social Democratic party voted war credits to the Kaiser's government in order to "save German civilization from Russian barbarism"; in 1920, it enforced, through the powerful and disciplined trade union movement, a general strike in or-

der to save the republic from the Kapp *putsch;* now the party, in effect, supports the dictatorship of von Hindenburg and Bruening in order to save democracy from fascism. Always the labor movement must save the day for the "ruling" class, which is unable to rule without help from the labor movement. How are the services of the labor movement rewarded? Wage cuts and "economies" in social welfare are its "compensation" —and heavier taxes.

The defeat of the monarchist forces under the Kapp leadership was the only case in which the workers pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for themselves, not for their enemies. The infant republic had but few friends outside of the labor movement. An overthrow of the republic and the restoration of the monarchy would have strengthened the hands of the enemies of labor. The organized workers saved the republic then and are its only true defenders today.

It should be noted that that victory for the republic was not achieved by a political power, or a military force, but by the intelligently organized industrial workers. Literally speaking, by the workers folding their arms. That was an historical example of the effectiveness of the general strike, at the proper time, as a weapon in the hands of a powerfully organized labor movement. Not a drop of blood was shed in achieving the victory which decided the fate of the republic. That great event brings back to one's memory a statement made by one of the Kaiser's ministers in connection with the anti-socialist laws that "behind every strike lurks the hydra of revolution." That minister sensed the danger to his class from strikes conducted by an effective labor movement. The strike that stopped the coup may also stop war.

When the workers' representatives in the Reichstag voted for Kaiser war credits during the war and for militaristic expenditures since, and, when in power, allowed the assassins of Luxemburg and Liebknecht to escape as the anti-labor government of the French republic allowed the murderer of Jaures to go unpunished, it did not really matter to the workers

whether the parliament and government seats were occupied by socialists or anti-socialists.

Did the change in the political wing of the labor movement come suddenly? Scheidemann's memoirs show that it did not. The party that was fighting for its life and for workers' rights had attracted a different type of human material than did the party that was big and strong and held out possibilities for careers. Careerism lowers one's morale; power is abused. This is not inherent in the socialist movement as its communist critics would have it. The social democrats draw the same indictment against the communists. Those are weaknesses which mass movements are exposed to. The remedy lies in the education of the masses. That is the only power capable of curbing the dangerous personal ambitions of a movement's spokesmen. There is evidence of such curbing in the Social Democratic party today. In the party's code *Disziplinbruch,* violation of discipline is a major offense. Nine socialist members of parliament have disregarded the majority decision of the socialist delegation for vote-abstention and voted against the cruiser bill. Those nine Reichstag members hearkened to the voice of the rank and file as well as their own conscience. One of those nine, Heinrich Strobel, said: "If the party should swallow the armored cruiser in order to save the Bruening government this government will ask of the Social Democracy tomorrow even more far-reaching and more impossible concessions."

The hopeful aspect of the situation is this: The Social Democratic party, which is the political fighting arm of the German working class, is strong, the largest party in the country. As long as the united power is there, the workers will find their way to use it in their own best interests.

April, 1931.

22

HITLERISM—GERMANY AFTER 1932

I.

FOURTEEN years ago the German republic was born in Weimar; last month it was done to death in Potsdam. President Hindenburg himself handed over his frail ward to Executioner Hitler. With the republic assassinated, with the newly elected Reichstag having committed suicide, Germany has now a president without a republic, and a "revolution" of the government against the people.

The revolution of 1918, which had brought forth the short-lived republic, was a product of the war. The counter-revolution, of which the republic was the first victim, was the product of the vicious Versailles peace.

The Kaiser's government lost the war; the German people pay for it. Hitlerism is the tragedy of Germany. The roots of Hitlerism lie in the humiliation and in the crushing reparations inflicted upon the German people by the Versailles Treaty. Anti-Semitism and all the atrocities of the nazis are the consequences of Hitlerism. But Hitlerism itself draws its vitality from Versailles. That should be remembered.

The civilized world was outraged by the shocking barbarism of the nazi German government against the Jews. It would be an insult to the intelligence of our members, who come from nearly thirty different nationalities, for me to plead that one human being has as much right to life, liberty and safety as another. Do we not pride ourselves upon living in twentieth-century civilization? I attended the remarkable protest meet-

ing in Madison Square Garden last month. I was gratified to see men from various national groups condemn the pogroms against the Jews in Germany. That is as it should be. But, though I appreciated the motives of the speakers, I had a feeling akin to resentment every time a speaker read off the long list of illustrious names of Jews, who had contributed to culture, art, and science, as proof that the Jews are entitled to live. Jews would be the same human beings, with the same rights on this earth if they had produced no Marx, or Lassalle, or Heine or Einstein. The common man, the tailor, the blacksmith and the hod carrier, has a right to the blessings of life because he is a human being. That title is enough. There should be no need of supporting it by brilliant names.

The Jews have lived in Germany for more than a thousand years. Germany has been their home for many generations. They need offer no apology for being there. It is interesting to note that Adolf Hitler, and Alfred Rosenberg, one of his chief lieutenants, are themselves foreigners. The former was born in Austria. His mother is said to have been Slav. Rosenberg was born in Czaristic Russia. It is they who want a "pure blooded" Germany!

Anti-Semitism is always a safe refuge for the scoundrel. When the Russian Czar pointed to the Jew as the "enemy" he diverted the wrath of the suffering Russian people from their true enemies. Hitler has followed the example of others in calling upon the populace to "kill the Jew." He is unable to bring the Frenchmen and the Englishmen and the others to the enraged masses to whom he has been preaching blood and hate for years. Besides, the French and the others have armies and navies. But Hitler has promised in his campaign speeches that heads would be rolling in the dust when he seized power. And he believes in keeping this promise. The "eternal Jew" is an eternal and convenient scapegoat. Foreigners can only protest, but not send armies and navies, when German Jews —Germany's own citizens—are tortured and murdered. An important factor in the crusade against the Jews in Germany is the fact that the positions held in economic life by a popula-

tion of 600,000, though less than one per cent of the entire population, will help considerably in the division of the spoils among the hungry nazi victors.

The history of modern Europe teaches us that the wave of anti-Semitism usually rises at a time of economic depression, and recedes at a time of prosperity. The first emancipation period of Jews in Europe, which began with the French revolution, was at a time of economic prosperity. Likewise with the second emancipation period, following 1848. Anti-Semitism gained in strength in the economically bad years, and weakened in the years before the World War. In the depression years following the war anti-Semitism spread again, as a part of the reaction which has fastened its grip upon a suffering world.

What is Hitlerism doing to the labor movement in Germany? We know little about it. Hardly any information filters through the very rigid news censorship. Until last month, the German labor movement was the most powerful in the world —numerically, materially and intellectually. Hitlerism hates the labor movement no less than the Jews. It is the sworn enemy of "Marxism," which means the socialist trade unions, the Social Democratic party and the Communist party. In the teeth of Hitler's fascist government, with the socialist press and meetings suppressed, seven million German workers voted for the Social Democratic party, and nearly five million for the Communist party. Twelve million "Marxian" votes despite all terrorism!

How long will Hitlerism last? Optimists are sure that it cannot endure. Hitler is violently irresponsible. His régime is barbarous. It cannot continue long.

The best one can say is: "I hope they are right." When the World War began, experts were sure that it could not last longer than six months. It was carried on for more than four years. The Soviet Russian government was likewise allowed six months to live. It is still functioning, and is among the most

stable governments in the world. Mussolini's rule, too, was to be of short duration. It is ten years old, and still a going concern. The assassination of Matteotti was said to have dealt a "death blow" to fascism. It has not. The "conscience of the world" has reconciled itself to fascism.

The ribs of the gods must have split with laughter when they saw the two former socialists, Mussolini and MacDonald, meet as anti-socialist premiers to make the world safe for a "peace" that is in truth fascism. What other result can come from MacDonald's proposal to permit Germany—fascist Germany—to double her army, from 100,000 to 200,000!

Violent efforts are now being made to force Austria into the column of fascist countries. Austria is a small country, with a population of 6½ million. She is essential to the fascist world not for her population or economic importance, but, as Otto Bauer points out, as a bridge over which Mussolini may carry arms into Hungary. The federal government of Austria is waging war against the powerful and efficient labor movement, particularly in "red Vienna." If Austria is conquered by fascism the vast territory which includes a large portion of eastern Europe, all of central Europe, and Italy in the south, will be under the rule of terroristic reaction.

With the accumulated national antagonism since the war, Europe is now again a storehouse of explosives. No one wants war, but everyone fears that it is inevitable. Hitlerism has greatly increased the war danger. Before the World War, Germany's naval ambition disturbed England. Now, Germany's military ambition disturbs France. Two powerful groups, armed to the teeth, now face one another in Europe. The war destroyed the Kaiser's Germany, and created Hitler's Germany. With the conflagration in the Far East—Japan and China—and with Europe drifting towards an armed clash, it does not look as if the war to end war was a great success.

And the League of Nations? It is collecting statistics. They undoubtedly will prove accurate.

I saw the labor movement in Italy in 1920, shortly before the

Mussolini "revolution." I availed myself of the opportunities accorded by the Italian comrades to look deep into the soul of the Italian labor movement. It is my firm conviction that if the Italian labor movement had not split Mussolini would have found no path open for his "March on Rome." We would have had a different Italy today.

I saw the labor movement in Germany in 1930, when Hitlerism raised its head. While the German situation was much more complicated than the Italian, I still feel that a united labor movement would have been able to offer effective resistance to nazism. It was heart-breaking to see the socialist movement line up behind the royal militarist von Hindenburg in order to "defeat Hitler." In a united labor movement—not split into hostile socialist and communist camps—such tactics, I am sure, would have been both impossible and unnecessary.

My experiences of decades in the labor movement have taught me to discount appearances. But even with this precaution I was powerfully impressed by a demonstration of the *Reichsbanner* in Berlin in 1930. I never saw so many people gathered at a meeting, for a common purpose, as I saw on that occasion on the Lustgarten Square. It was a warning to the nazis. And the warning seemed genuine. The *Reichsbanner* was a very large organization of ex-service men, trained soldiers, who had been through the war. They told the nazis: "We want peace, but if you intend to start something, we serve notice that we have arms, we know how to use them, and are going to use them." I was told that eighty per cent of the *Reichsbanner* members were socialists. One could not help being impressed by them. What has become of the *Reichsbanner?* Have they given up their arms? And are they all in concentration camps? What has become of the seven million socialist voters, five million communist voters, the millions in the trade unions? Where are the millions of organized workers, who had crushed the Kapp *putsch* in the early days of the republic? Are they all in prisons? Is it really true that the German labor movement, the physical and intellectual progress of two generations, was just stamped out by the iron heel of

Hitlerism, without resistance? Was the strongest labor movement in the world but a fiction?

I saw the Austrian labor movement in 1920 and in 1930. On the first occasion its future was very uncertain. It depended primarily on whether the people would conquer mass starvation or be conquered by it. In 1930 I was impressed chiefly by the fact that the movement escaped the splitting plague. Contrary to Italy, Germany, and other countries, the labor movement in Austria is united. That, in my opinion, is the chief reason why Hitler, the Austrian, had, so far, failed in his native country. If Austria falls it will be under the weight of the German collapse. *But the Austrian labor movement has shown what a united movement can do!* What a different Europe we would have had today if the labor movements in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere had conquered their factionalism and maintained their united strength!

If central, eastern, and southern Europe surrender to fascism and the labor movements are made to serve fascist purposes, or are annihilated, can we here, in the United States, escape the consequences? The European war pulled us in despite the 3,000 miles of ocean. Will the American employers refuse to benefit from the blessings of fascism when opportunity knocks at their door?

There is real danger that they will use Hitlerism here, especially its race hatred, in attacks upon labor organizations. We, organized clothing workers, must be on guard!

April, 1933.

Hitler Burns Books

When Hitler was struck by the brilliant idea of burning books his inspiration must have come from the burning of "witches" alive and from the burning of books in the past. History records a few interesting book-burning episodes.

In the year 248 B.C. a new and powerful ruler arose in China, Emperor Tching-Wang. He founded a new dynasty. He was the builder of the great Wall. He ordered the burning of all

books except those which he considered harmless to his régime. Those scholars who had not carried out this order fast enough were executed.

In 640 A.D. the Arabs captured the city of Alexandria, Egypt. When they reported to the Caliph Omar about the books in the Alexandrian library, the Caliph said: "If those books contain the same teachings as the Koran they are useless because superfluous; if they contain anything contrary to the Koran they are dangerous; in either case they should be destroyed." And the books were burned. For six months the books from the library fed the fires in the public baths of Alexandria.

The scene now shifts to Germany. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a Jewish butcher by the name of Pfefferkorn, who had served a term in prison for burglary, was converted to Christianity—he, his family and some friends. He wrote anti-Jewish pamphlets and advocated the severest regulations against the Jews including banishment. Pfefferkorn denounced the Hebrew literature, outside of the Five Books of Moses, as calumniating the Christian faith and as lacking respect for the Books of Moses. In 1509 he turned up armed with an edict from Emperor Maximilian to collect the Hebrew books and burn them. He undertook his task most vigorously. In the city of Frankfort he collected a large number of Jewish books and kept them ready for the flames.

So far so "good": Hitler has historical precedents. The fact that they were only three and far between—third century, B.C., seventh and sixteenth centuries, A.D.—makes those precedents all the more important. Hitler has supplied the fourth book-burning party. A thousand years from now—perhaps sooner —there may be a fifth one.

But upon a closer view it seems that Hitler's book fire was really the first one. The historians, including the German Schlosser, say that the stories about the burning of the books in China and in Alexandria are just anecdotes; the burnings did not really take place. As to the Pfefferkorn adventure in Germany, Emperor Maximilian spoiled the party by revoking the edict. The Jewish books were not burned; they were re-

turned to their owners. They had been properly catologued and it was known whom they had been taken from.

Hitler corrected in 1933 the mistakes of the past. He actually burned Jewish, Marxian (socialist and communist) and other "un-German" books on May 10, many of them at the universities, the institutions of highest learning. What was prevented in the Germany of the sixteenth century was carried out in the Germany of the twentieth century. Hitler made history. Prometheus gave fire to man; Hitler gave man's books to the fire.

May, 1933.

23

ITALY: RED AND BLACK

EUROPE in 1920: At the head, Russia defending her social revolution by means of a powerful proletarian dictatorship; at the foot, Italy at the brink of a revolution; on the Continent generally, widespread social unrest, capitalism shaken at its foundation.

Europe in 1926: At the head, revolutionary Russia triumphant; at the foot, Italy in the stranglehold of the fascist monster; the Continent generally, safe for capitalism.

I. Red Italy

Revolutions do not wait for invitations. They break in, or out, irresistibly. It was, however, different in Italy. The labor movement was confronted by an unprecedented situation: shipworkers seized shipbuilding yards; sea workers seized ships; and metallurgical workers seized metal factories. In the past, the landless proletariat would at times take hold of idle lands belonging to absentee landlords and till them. This was the first time that the organized industrial proletariat put itself in possession and control of the industrial apparatus. The action of the metal workers was of special importance: The organized metal employers had decided to lock out the workers in order to break their powerful union and to reduce wages. When the employers attempted to enforce their decision the workers *locked out the employers*. The union undertook to run the industry on its own responsibility. The employers

appealed to the government for help but the government dared not move against the workers for fear of revolution. Instead, the government sought to mediate between the employers who were dispossessed and the organized workers who were in possession.

The first revolutionary step was taken by the workers; what next? Should it be followed by a complete program of proletarian revolution to dislodge capitalism from industry, or, should terms be made with the employers and capitalism allowed to continue? At a conference in Milan there was a bitter struggle between those who favored an immediate revolution and those who opposed it. The Socialist party represented the former; the trade unions, the latter. The trade unions won. There was no doubt that if the decision had been in favor of an immediate revolution the Italian proletariat would have accepted it with enthusiasm. The question was, however, would a revolution make of Italy another Russia or another Hungary? The advocates of revolution did not feel sure of the former but were willing to fight; the others did feel sure of the latter and were afraid to risk the power that organized labor had attained. The labor movement—the Socialist party and the trade unions—was the only power in Italy. The Socialist party had the strongest group in parliament and was capturing a large number of municipalities in the elections that were then going on. Due to the power of the labor movement Italy was at that time the freest country in Europe. There was absolute freedom of association, assembly, speech, and press. Even government employees had the right to strike. The circulation of the socialist press was enormous. The great popularity of socialism made it dangerous for any political group, of which there were many, to call themselves "conservatives." The most reactionary capitalist politicians called themselves "liberals."

The revolutionary spirit among the industrial workers and large numbers of peasants was genuine. A foreign visitor quickly found proof of it. Serrati told me that the sentiment among the workers was that they did not want to work for

employers any longer. The growing cooperative movement in Italy gave that sentiment special significance.

I had the first glimpse of revolution in Italy on the way from Ventimiglia, at the French-Italian border, to Genoa. A fellow-traveler, an American, who had a factory in Turin, called my attention to a red flag that was flying over the shipbuilding yards at Porto Maurizio, near San Remo, in the most fashionable section of the Italian Riviera. He was enraged at the workers. If they had asked for a share of the profits he would have understood it and have been willing to talk business, but they asked for a voice in the management, and that was—*revolution.*

In Rome I saw the words "Viva Lenin" painted crudely in red in many places, including the walls of the ancient temple of Augustus. There was unbounded enthusiasm for Russia. I arrived in Rome the last Sunday in September. The next day I met Bonelli, the secretary of the Chamber of Labor. He had participated in the historic Milan conference and voted in favor of making terms with the employers rather than go through with the revolutionary program. His constituents overwhelmingly repudiated his action and Bonelli was compelled to resign.

He introduced me to the secretary of the local metal workers' organization, who gave me a letter to the council of a telephone supplies factory which was occupied and operated by the workers. With that letter and my Amalgamated credentials I presented myself at the factory gate. The guard, one of the workers, examined my papers and took them to the factory council. I was received by the council in the most fraternal manner and given the freedom of the factory by them. With the help of an efficient interpreter, who is now an exile somewhere in Europe, I soon became familiar with the astounding situation. The factory was located within a short distance from the famous Coliseum, the "Scala Santa," the San Giovanni Church and the Arch of Titus. Royal guards, in their picturesque uniforms, stood near the factory and looked in a puzzled manner at the two red flags on the parapet of the

building, the red guards, and all the strange and unusual happenings.

Of the 160 workers in the factory, including 29 women, all but one engineer and three foremen stayed throughout the occupation. The assistant engineer was made engineer and he performed his duties well.

During the 17 days that that factory was occupied, the workers slept on improvised beds of benches and straw in a large light room. Only a few went home each day. The factory council decided who were to stay, who were to go home, and who were to do guard duty. The women were relieved of all guard duty and went home every evening. They prepared the meals for the workers at the factory. There were four armed guards at night and two in the daytime. Arms were available for all workers. Auto lamps were fitted onto the roof for searchlights. There was never any trouble with the police or with anyone else. A rigid discipline was enforced by means of fines and publicity. Workers were fined for absence from work or for coming late without sufficient cause and the fact was announced on a bulletin board. The Soviet emblem was painted on the office door and on the factory walls; also inscriptions reminding the workers that it was their responsibility to make good; and a number of mottoes, such as "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." The self-imposed discipline among the workers was truly remarkable.

The employer's books were placed in his safe at the office, which was then locked and sealed by the factory council and by a representative of the employer. A statement attached to the safe read: "It is declared that this safe has been sealed on September 13, 1920, 6 P.M." This was signed by the factory council and by the firm's representative.

There were cases of foodstuffs sent by the agricultural cooperatives to feed the workers in the factory. The railroad workers seized raw materials needed in the metal factories and delivered them to the Metal Workers' Union. Surpluses and shortages of raw materials were adjusted as much as possible among the individual factories by direct exchange. In accord-

ance with the action of the Milan conference a settlement was made with the firm, and at seven o'clock the next morning the factory which I had visited was returned to the owner.

The lockout of the employers was ended by the mediation of the government, which had promised the workers a labor control law. What has become of that promise is well known. Caroti, a prominent socialist deputy, said: "The working class will not have to attack the bourgeoisie with violence. A day will come when the bourgeoisie, outnumbered by the socialist proletariat, will not be in a position to maintain its political power legally. That day will also mark the doom of its economic power. In order to defend the possession of both the bourgeoisie will use violence against the working class. That will be the day of social revolution." The same position was held by Serrati, editor of *Avanti,* powerful socialist daily at Milan, which was previously edited by Benito Mussolini. He said: "The Socialist party has the duty to maintain the integrity of the socialist movement not for violent action but for the constructive period which will require all the strength of the working class to carry out the revolution and maintain it."

The beginnings of the split in the Socialist party, which came to a head a few months later, were already visible at that time. Serrati, as leader of the Unitarian group, sought to hold the party together. At a meeting of the National Committee of the party, October 1, at Milan, he pleaded: "The unity of the party must be kept intact against any attack from the right or the left. We must keep with us everyone, right or left, who is likely to be helpful in the work of the revolution. Let us not become divided. Unity is most essential."

The labor movement did split. A "revolution" did come. But it was the fascist "revolution."

II. Black Italy

Before the World War Mussolini was the leader of the left wing in the Italian socialist movement. During the war he advocated Italy's entry into it and was expelled from the party,

which was anti-war. Though without funds of his own he immediately began the publication of a daily paper, *Popolo d'Italia,* dedicated exclusively to pro-war propaganda. It is not difficult to see from what sources the funds came. After the war Mussolini again posed as an extreme radical and attacked the Socialist party as too conservative. Il Fasci di Combattimento, which he organized after the war, was at first anti-monarchist and republican. Mussolini carried on a violent propaganda against the reigning house. But when, as a result of various political machinations, it became possible for him to take hold of the government, Mussolini promptly became an avowed monarchist and supporter of the House of Savoy. Now Mussolini is dictator of Italy, sending into prison or exile, or assassinating, his former comrades.

I had heard of the acts of violence committed by the fascisti against the labor movement but had not seen their work until I reached Trieste, my last stop in Italy. Trieste, a part of Italia Irredenta, was in the Austrian empire before the war and came back to Italy as a result of the Austrian collapse. At the end of 1920 Trieste was still without a civil administration. The Italian government knew that elections would result in a socialist victory, so no elections were called and the military rule was continued.

At the end of the war the labor movement in Trieste, as well as in Venezia Giulia (the region in which Trieste is located), was very strong. The Socialist party, which was the only live political organization in that section, joined the Socialist party of Italy and the unions joined the Italian Confederation of Labor. The local socialist daily, *Il Lavoratore,* had a circulation of 60,000 and was constantly gaining in strength. The labor movement demanded the abolition of the military régime and the election of a civil government. The ruling powers organized a branch of the fascisti and inaugurated a reign of terror against the labor movement. The "menace of Slavism" was used as a pretext. But the Jugoslavs in Trieste were not even a problem, let alone a menace. The Slav workers were organized with the Italian workers in the same

unions and in the same party. There was the same relationship of labor solidarity between the Jugoslavs and the Italians as among the Italians themselves. But racial animosities were essential for the success of the fascisti, so they took every opportunity to arouse them. One day a report came that an Italian captain was killed in Jugoslavia. That was pretext enough for the fascisti to pogromize the Slav population in Trieste. A number of Slav buildings were burned, including a large, fine, modern building, which had housed a Jugoslav society, bank and hotel. I saw the ruins of that building. The military authorities appeared when the job was completed. Emboldened by their success in terror-spreading, the fascisti undertook an open campaign against the labor movement. The socialists were internationalists; hence, anti-Italian; hence, traitors to their country and must be annihilated. In their unholy crusade the fascisti were aided by D'Annunzio's Legionaires from near-by Fiume, the Arditi. The military authorities allowed the Arditi to walk in the streets with bombs in their hands in order to terrorize the people. Wholesale arrests were made without any cause and many people were killed, even those who had only looked out from their house windows.

On October 14, 1920, there was a strike demonstration from four to six o'clock in the afternoon throughout Italy, for the purpose of demanding amnesty for all political prisoners and the recognition of Russia. On that occasion the fascisti made themselves felt in several parts of Italy but they were "at their best" in Trieste. On that day they burned down the printing plant of *Il Lavoratore,* causing over a million lire damage to the paper. The military authorities looked on while the fascisti were doing their diabolical work. All the files of the paper were destroyed. When the job was finished the authorities placed armed guards around the heaps of ashes and no one was admitted to the place without a pass. Those connected with the paper were given passes with the holders' photos to be shown to the soldier guards when they came to the scene of destruction.

I saw what the fascisti did to the beautiful Chamber of La-

bor in Trieste. The library and other rooms were smashed. Mural paintings, works of art, were ruined by sharp instruments, perhaps daggers or bayonets. Even a bust of Verdi was destroyed. Thus I had the sad privilege of seeing fascism at its beginning. I saw both Italys, the Red and the Black.

The robust optimism of the workers, in the face of all those experiences, was remarkable. Thus the comrade who informed me on conditions in Trieste and who took me to the *Il Lavoratore* ruins, said: "There is a possibility of a national coup. It seems that D'Annunzio and the military party want to overthrow the present government which, in their opinion, is too mild with us—the internal enemy—and with the Jugoslavs—the external enemy—and proclaim a military dictatorship. That will certainly be the beginning of a revolution." The first part of the prophecy has come true.

What would have happened if the labor movement had followed the radicals and undertaken the revolutionary program? What would have happened if the labor movement had followed the reformists and taken over the government when the opportunity for it came? Did the labor movement err in rejecting those propositions?

In view of what has happened in other countries since the war, it is most difficult to express a positive opinion. One thing, however, is certain: If the Italian labor movement—political and industrial—had not split; if it had maintained the unity and strength that it had built up after the war, Mussolini would not have marched to power, as he put it, in cynical frankness, "over the prostrate body of the Goddess of Liberty."

Mussolini did not avert a socialist revolution in Italy. The labor movement itself did it. The labor movement which Mussolini had crushed had been split and broken up by its own factionalism. Disunity was the tragedy of labor in Italy.

March, 1926.

24

SERRATI, LEADER AND MAN

GIACINTO MENOTTI SERRATI was a leading figure in the international socialist world when I met him in Milan, in 1920, the red letter year in the history of the Italian labor movement. It was then that I learned for the first time that in his younger days Serrati lived in the United States and edited an Italian Socialist Labor party paper. We were both members of the same party at that time but we had never met in the United States. We discussed American events of those days as well as the Italian situation at the time of my visit. Serrati conducted me through the large *Avanti* printing plant. *Avanti* was the central daily organ of the Italian Socialist party. He took much pride in the paper, the plant and the great stock of socialist literature—books, pamphlets and pictures—turned out, under his direction, by the *Avanti* printery for the education of the Italian workers.

Benito Mussolini was editor of *Avanti* when the World War came. Though professing extreme radicalism, he utilized his position to spread war propaganda. As a result, Mussolini was removed from the editorship and expelled from the Socialist party. Serrati succeeded him. It was due in a large measure to Serrati's efforts that the Socialist party of Italy was not swept off its feet by the war madness, but remained faithful to the socialist principle of opposition to war. Serrati was thrown into jail by the government, but his imprisonment only served to strengthen his prestige among the workers.

After the war the political prisoners, including Serrati, were

freed by amnesty. Then came a period in which the Italian people enjoyed perfect freedom, probably more than the people in any other country. The political and the industrial branches of the labor movement grew rapidly and became the greatest power in the land, the only power of national scope. The movement was actually confronted with the problem of carrying out immediately a social revolution. The occupation of the metal factories by the organized metal workers was sufficient indication of both the power and the temper of the labor movement. The Fascisti were still serving their apprenticeship in violence and were little feared. The power of the labor movement was supreme. But the spirit of division and disunion, which finally made the labor movement an easy prey for the Fascist monster, had already made itself felt. In the diverse labor movement groupings, Serrati represented the Unitarians. His unitarian policy did not, however, meet with the majority approval of the national committee of the Socialist party. As a result, Serrati offered to resign from the editorship of *Avanti,* at the end of 1920, but the National Committee refused to accept his resignation.

The differences within the movement had been brought to a head by the famous Twenty-one Points, promulgated by the Third International, in 1920. The Italian Socialist party had withdrawn from the Second International and had joined the Third, or Moscow International. There was great affection for Russia throughout the labor movement. "Reformists" as well as "revolutionists" accepted affiliation with the Third International. But the Twenty-one Points required, among other things, the expulsion of certain persons from the party, including Filippo Turatti, who was one of the founders of the Socialist party and very popular. Serrati, who realized the grave danger of a break in the labor movement, wished to keep in the party all who would be useful to the cause, regardless of differences in views.

Unfortunately, Serrati, with all of his ability and popularity, was unable to prevent a split. The Italian labor movement was caught by the same emotionalism which had seized the mili-

tants in the labor movements the world over and turned comrade against comrade. That was, perhaps, not to be wondered at, considering the febrile state in all life in Europe at that time. But the break that came to Italy was heartrending. It destroyed one of the most effective and promising labor movements in the world. Black fascismo was then able to undertake its march to power unobstructed.

Serrati and a number of his prominent colleagues were expelled from the Third International. Those who followed that dramatic situation will recall the very interesting public controversy between Lenin and Serrati.

If Serrati had prevailed, Mussolini would, perhaps, have been remembered by some people as an unsuccessful adventurer, and fascismo would have been forgotten.

The splitting, breaking and demoralizing disunion within the labor movement accomplished for the enemies of the movement what they were unable to accomplish themselves.

Later, Serrati rejoined the Third International. When the labor movement was broken up into hostile camps he identified himself with the camp that he was idealogically nearest to. But the powerful Italian labor movement was no more.

Serrati was a lonely, disheartened and tragic figure. In the country of his birth, he was vindictively persecuted by a socialist renegade; the workers, whose teacher Serrati was, dared not follow him because of their fear of fascist revenge; the bitterness, which the schism in the movement had engendered, was directed against him as a factionalist, though he had striven to avert that schism; in the international socialist world Serrati was a man with a brilliant past, a dark present and a blank future.

Serrati died suddenly, while walking in the street, at the age of 50. An aching heart had broken.

May, 1926.

25

LABOR POLITICS IN CANADA

It is much to be regretted that the workers in this country are not informed of the political activities of the workers in Canada. We usually associate labor politics with Europe. But for nine years this movement has been going on in Canada with constant, though slow, progress. The American press told us much—truth and untruth—about the general strike in Winnipeg eleven years ago. We were told that the strike was crushed and the labor movement demoralized, but we were not told that out of that defeat grew up a vigorous Labor party, which has sent representatives into the municipal, provincial, and federal legislatures.

A number of workers were arrested in connection with the Winnipeg strike. There was nothing unusual in that. There are arrests in almost every strike. But it does not usually happen—it probably never did happen in America before—that an incarcerated striker should be sent from jail to parliament. Winnipeg did that with five of the workers who were arrested because of the strike. Three were elected to the provincial parliament. When they finished their terms in jail they began their terms in the legislature. Two were sent to the federal parliament. "From Convict to Lawmaker" would make a thrilling caption for the screen. This is one case in which truth was stranger than fiction.

There are now three Labor party members in the House of Commons: James J. Woodsworth and A. A. Heaps of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and A. B. Adshead of Calgary, Alberta. Woods-

worth, dean of the Labor group, began his career as a minister of the Gospel. For some years he was director of a bureau for social research in the west. Taking his religion seriously, Woodsworth opposed the war. He was punished for that by discharge from his post as research director in 1917. He went to Vancouver and worked at the docks as longshoreman. He still holds membership in the longshoremen's union. Later Woodsworth came to Winnipeg and helped in the strike. When the editor of the strikers' paper was arrested, Woodsworth took his place, but he too was arrested. Also, Heaps was arrested for strike activities. Both Woodsworth and Heaps were tried and acquitted.

The three imprisoned strikers were elected to the provincial parliament in 1920; Woodsworth was elected to the House of Commons in 1921; Heaps, in 1925. Adshead, who is a former school teacher and a retired farmer, was elected in 1926.

Canada has no federal Labor party. There are several provincial Labor parties. The Manitoba Independent Labor party controls about forty per cent of the vote in Winnipeg. It has its representatives in the City Council, the School Board and other elective bodies and in the provincial and federal parliaments. That is also true, more or less, of the province of Alberta, where the Labor party has members in the municipal councils in Calgary, Edmonton and Lethbridge and a half dozen in the provincial legislature. The Labor party in Vancouver, British Columbia, has one alderman and one member in the provincial parliament. In Toronto, Ontario, James Simpson was elected City Controller on the Labor party ticket.* In Montreal, Quebec, Joseph Schubert has been elected alderman several times by the Labor party.

Industrially, Canada is very much like the United States. Its trade union movement is largely an A. F. of L. movement, as the local unions are attached to the American Internationals. As against those there are three distinct Canadian products: the One Big Union in the west; the French Catholic unions in Quebec, and a general Canadian Federation. They are, how-

* Simpson was elected Mayor of Toronto in 1935.

ever, a minority among organized workers in Canada. The A. F. of L. opposition to independent political action by labor is adhered to by the Canadian trade union movement. Such action is limited almost entirely to the west. It is remarkable that the west is more progressive than the east both in the United States and in Canada. Woodsworth says that the progressive spirit in western Canada is due partly to the lesson taught by the Winnipeg strike and partly to the British and Scotch immigrants who have brought with them Labor party ideas from the old country. The native-born Canadian, says Woodsworth, is conservative. Woodsworth himself is native-born and a descendant of native-born Canadians, but he is an ardent socialist, as is also his British-born colleague, Heaps.

The small group of three labor representatives is much more influential than its number would indicate. It has enjoyed on various occasions the heartiest cooperation of a larger group, eighteen progressive farmers. Thus, for many practical purposes, the labor group consists of twenty-one instead of three. The organized farmers dominate the governments of the three prairie provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. They have organized the largest cooperative selling agency in the world.

Ottawa, says Woodsworth, is a high powered broadcasting station. What the Labor representatives say in the House may in itself produce little effect, "but we are able to force the pace on the other members. A speech on international relations will draw forth a reply from the Prime Minister. This may be criticized by the leader of the Opposition and precipitate a general debate." Such a debate was precipitated by Heaps' speech on unemployment.

In 1926 the Labor members—only two at that time—achieved an amazing triumph when they forced the enactment of the Old Age Pension Law.

The elections of 1925 gave the country a parliament in which the two old parties were almost equal in numbers, with the Labor and Farmer members holding the balance of power. The Labor members understood how to improve that rare oppor-

tunity and put through one of the most important pieces of social legislation, Old Age Pensions.

The boldness of that move will be appreciated when it is remembered that in the past the idea of old age pensions was exceedingly unpopular with the lawmakers and that it had generally been argued that under the British North America Act, social legislation is entirely a matter for the provinces, not for the federal parliament. In the general debate on unemployment that point was the chief argument against Heaps' amendment. The strategic position occupied by the Labor members and the progressive farmers in 1926 enabled them to induce the government to bring in an old age pension measure. It was carried by the House but defeated in the Senate. The Canadian Senate is very much like the British House of Lords. Its members are appointed for life and are, of course, most conservative. Another election was soon held with Old Age Pensions figuring as a leading campaign issue. The bill was reintroduced by the government in the new parliament and it passed both houses. The Senate heard the voice of the people and voted accordingly. Under that law the federal government contributes half the amount which a province pays out in old age pensions. The effect of the law was to stimulate interest in provincial pension legislation. Most of the nine provinces have already availed themselves of the federal Old Age Pension law. They enacted their own laws and the federal government shares the expenses with them. In his speech in the unemployment debate, the Minister of Labor stated that forty thousand persons are now receiving old age pensions. The law applies only to persons of seventy years and more. The important thing, however, is the acceptance by Parliament of the principle of old age pensions. The lowering of the age limit is only a matter of time.

The Labor members have not been as successful in dealing with the problem of unemployment. That is still an open issue. But the labor representatives are constantly urging it in Parliament and speaking to the people about it. Many voters will think of it when the next election comes. James Woods-

worth says: "One of our difficulties is the backwardness of the United States in matters of social legislation. Our manufacturers protest that they cannot compete with the United States manufacturers if Canadian industry must carry the additional burdens imposed by such measures as unemployment insurance."

The Labor members championed numerous other causes. To mention but a few: family allowances, disbanding of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, capital levy, anti-militarism, socialization of industry, civil liberties, proportional representation.

The postal workers in Winnipeg were dismissed in 1919 because of the strike in that city. They were later taken back as beginners and given beginners' pay. Last year the Labor members in Parliament succeeded in restoring the regular salaries with back pay.

A six-day debate was caused by a Labor resolution placing the natural resources of the country under the control of parliament. The government is now committed to this principle.

Miss Agnes Macphail, progressive farmer, and only woman member of Parliament, brought in a proposal to spend one dollar for the promotion of peace for every one hundred dollars now spent for war, by setting up a chair of international relationships and by instituting international scholarships in Canadian universities.

April, 1930.

26

THE BRITISH LABOR GOVERNMENT

THE Labor Government of England, whose censure by Parliament last month meant the practical end of its existence, was a remarkable combination of strength and weakness. The rapidly growing power of the British labor movement was able to create the Labor government but was unable to sustain it without help from others.

The Labor party, though strong, is still a minority party. No British government can live without the support of a majority in Parliament. But all three big parties in the last Parliament were minority parties. When the Tories (conservatives), who were the largest minority party, lost the government in an unlucky election, the official opposition party was required, under the British custom, to take over the government. This time the Labor party was the official opposition. But this party was only the second largest minority party. Its government was able to maintain itself only with the aid of the bourgeois Liberal party, the third minority party in Parliament. Thus the life of the Labor government was in the hands of the Liberal politicians throughout its nine month existence. It was only a matter of time for the Liberals to decide to go with the Conservatives against the Labor government rather than with the Labor government against the Conservatives. A few weeks ago it became known that the two capitalist camps had agreed that the Labor government should die. The end was expected every day. It came on October 8th.

Officially the Labor government was censured for dropping the prosecution it had instituted against the communist

Campbell for the publication of an anti-militarist article in the *Workers' Weekly*. But the Campbell case was only a convenient vehicle for the delivery of the censure. The votes were there ready to be cast for a censure on any pretext, for the government had been sentenced to die. The "generosity" of the capitalist Liberals had been exhausted. Now they no longer stood alongside the Labor government as patronizing allies but faced it as open enemies. They had toyed with the Labor government long enough and were ready to slay it.

The first British Labor government now belongs to history. It will be judged as an expression of the growing labor movement and as an experiment.

As an experiment MacDonald's government has many admirers in the labor movement and also many severe critics.

As an expression of the power of the labor movement the Labor government has been a most encouraging phenomenon, regardless of its record.

It has been a Labor government not because workers participated in it but because of its having been created by a conscious labor party. This fact is of tremendous importance.

Is the British Labor party radical or conservative? Perhaps both, because there is a constant struggle for supremacy waged between the radicals and the conservatives within the party. Such struggles are unavoidable in a live and growing labor movement. But whatever the shade of red the party's color may be it is a frankly outspoken labor party. And this is the most vital point.

We have conservative and also reactionary unions. But the radicals recognize the unions as labor organizations and support their struggles in the interests of labor. There are movements within the unions towards greater progressivism or radicalism but the unions as they are are accepted by friend and foe as labor institutions. That is so because the organization of the workers is the all important fact. Wherever the workers are organized *as workers* they constitute a class body and create possibilities for class action, which action is impossible otherwise.

Likewise with the outspoken labor party. For the political party of labor such outspokenness is more essential than it is for the industrial organization, because the latter is open to wage earners only while the former may also admit to membership non-wage workers.

The union is a working class organization because of the character of the members composing it even though it may not openly say so; the party may become a working class organization only through its positive utterances, through the proclamation of its working class program. When the political organization is an outspoken labor party the non-wage earners may become members only by accepting the labor party's program. The non-wage workers come to the Labor party and accept its labor leadership instead of the workers coming to the bourgeois Liberal party and accepting its capitalist leadership as the British workers had done in the past.

With the Liberal party steadily declining England is returning to its traditional two party system. Now the struggle is chiefly between the Tories and the Labor party. For the first time in the history of the classic land of capitalism capital and labor will face each other as organized forces not only in the individual industries but also upon the political field.

There is much to be criticized in MacDonald's government. There is also much to criticize in the "governments" of the various industrial organizations of labor. There is no need of denying or concealing faults in labor unions, because with all of their faults labor unions are militant working class organizations. Similarly, it is needless to deny or conceal the faults of the British Labor government. The Labor party, which gave it life, is a class struggle organization. Through it the British proletariat is waging warfare against capitalism. The Labor government may commit any blunder, but the Labor party, representing the united British working class, will profit by its experience and correct the errors.

The British proletariat challenges capitalism on the industrial field through its unions and on the political field through

its Labor party. Can there be any doubt as to its ultimate and inevitable objective?

November, 1924.

How grateful world capitalism is to MacDonald, Snowden and their associates for slashing away a whole tenth from the small unemployment pay of the idle workers! When MacDonald opposed the war he was ostracized as a dangerous man; now that he takes bread out of the mouths of the neediest of workers, the unemployed, he is eulogized as a patriotic statesman. The international praise for him flows not from the fact that the cut in the "dole" was essential to the balancing of the British budget. The foreign employers are not interested in that. And Baldwin might have done the job no less efficiently than MacDonald. The praise is due to the justification which the unemployment pay cut lends to wage cutting —doubly valuable as coming from a labor prime minister.

The guilt of MacDonald's act is primarily his own, though the labor movement is punished for it, but the labor movement is not entirely blameless. The point is not stressed sufficiently that the safety of the labor movement lies in an enlightened rank and file to whom "leaders" must be responsive and responsible. The MacDonald affair should be a warning to the labor movement of the danger of allowing persons elevated by it to positions of prestige and influence to make themselves superior to the movement. Such warning is urgently needed today, because despite all reaction and anti-labor tendencies, the labor movement will be called upon to assume ever greater governmental and social responsibilities. There is no other power to challenge successfully the existing order. Frequent repetition of the MacDonald desertion would destroy all faith in the labor movement. And then we shall have chaos. When the workers will train themselves to regard the MacDonalds as *servants* of the movement, not its *masters,* they will avoid disaster in the future. Let's hope that the MacDonald-Snowden affair has taught the international labor movement this needed lesson.

December, 1931.

27

H. M. HYNDMAN—BRITISH SOCIALIST PIONEER

HENRY MAYERS HYNDMAN was a towering figure in the pre-war socialist world.

He came from a wealthy family, was highly educated and a gifted speaker and writer.

He was the father of modern socialism in England, and gave forty of his seventy-nine years of life to the socialist movement. Among his associates in the struggle for the emancipation of the workers were such brilliant men as William Morris and Bernard Shaw.

Hyndman was one of the pillars of the structure which is now most unfavorably known in the socialist world as the Second International. There he stood alongside of the internationally known leaders of socialism in Germany, Austria, Belgium and France.

Hyndman was not so fortunate as the others. His colleagues all had big movements behind them. The British socialist movement was small and insignificant. England, the most advanced country capitalistically, was the most backward socialistically. Marx wrote his monumental work *Capital* in the British Museum. Though written in German it is essentially a British work. To analyze capitalism Marx needed England for his laboratory. But socialism, the only logical answer to capitalism, found no echo in England. It attracted individual idealists but no large masses. Socialism is no factor in English life today. Even the trade union movement was, until recent years, more backward in England than in any important coun-

try on the continent. The American craft union and its "pure and simple" philosophy are imitations of the British institutions.

The failure of his social democratic federation to build up a powerful socialist movement in England greatly distressed Hyndman. Some twenty years ago he cried out in despair, and it seemed as if he had lost faith in the working class. That was a very painful cry and found sympathy among those who, like Hyndman, saw the seeming uselessness of the class struggle. But Hyndman, in spite of his pessimism, continued his activities.

The war came and shook the whole social structure, including the socialist movement. The socialist International collapsed the moment it was put to the test—the test of living up in that supreme crisis to its teachings of uncompromising opposition to war and firm international solidarity of labor against capitalism. The principal leaders of the Second International forgot their own cause when the call for international slaughter was sounded by the imperialist war-makers. They became war patriots and placed themselves at the service of the war organizers. Jules Guesde, Marxian spokesman in France, who had fought Millerand for accepting a place in the French Cabinet, took a ministry in the war government. Likewise did Emile Vandervelde in the Belgian war government. Socialist leaders in Germany and Austria lined up with the Central Powers against the Allies. Hyndman, too, turned war patriot. The leaders of the Second International suddenly found themselves in opposing camps, in the camps of their common enemies. One part, the larger, were pro-Ally war patriots; the other part, pro-Central Powers war patriots. After having dedicated their useful lives to the common struggle against capitalism, and drawing courage from one another, they found themselves hypnotized into mutual enmity. Though leaders for years, in their common warfare they could only blindly obey the command of their common enemy, capitalism.

That was the tragedy of those veterans of modern socialism. The socialists of the Hyndman type, as distinguished from the

Scheidemann type, were honest, loyal, self-sacrificing. But their socialist movement could do no more than lay out general principles; it was unable to enforce them. Those socialists defined the general attitude of socialism against war, but when war came they were caught in the maelstrom and surrendered without a struggle. It is unjust to denounce them as traitors, if we concede that a traitor must have a traitor's motive. Men like Hyndman were no traitors. They were victims.

Pre-war socialism is no more. The war gave birth to a new socialism, which in its theory and policy responds to the changed conditions. Hyndman, like many of his colleagues in other countries, was unable to accommodate himself to the new orientation.

Marx made himself immortal by his exposition of scientific socialism. Every socialist leader who needs authority for his utterances swears by Marx. But Marx wrote about a half a century ago when conditions were different from what they are today, and before the world war and the Russian revolution. And Marx is not here to say whether the German revolution or the Russian revolution is entitled to his approval. As a result Marx's authority is claimed for two mutually exclusive kinds of socialism.

Before the war, socialism was mainly a movement of theory, with Germany in undisputed leadership. Since the war socialism has become a movement of action, with Russia in the lead. Leadership is not given up voluntarily. The old German leadership of pre-war socialism is fighting the new leadership tooth and nail. Thus Otto Bauer, the very able leader of the old guard in Austria, quoted approvingly at last year's congress of the Austrian Socialist party a prominent member of the German old guard to this effect: "It is an impudence (frechheit) on the part of the Russians to tell us, Central Europeans, what to do." Hyndman, too, was unable to accept new leadership.

Like many other pro-war socialists, Hyndman was a much disappointed man when the war was over and he realized that the results were the reverse of what he had expected. But

his roots were in the old generation and he was strongly opposed to the Russian Soviet régime.

We must realize that the Second International, in its time, could do no more than it did. Its mission was to sweep away the cobwebs and illusions of Utopian socialism and present to the world a scientific socialism with its clear exposition of the class struggle. That the Second International did. That was its great service to the labor movement. Without the work of pre-war socialism, post-war socialism would be impossible. To that work Hyndman gave the best that was in him.

Hyndman succumbed to chauvinism during the war, was disappointed with the "democracy" to which the war gave birth, and was unable to make peace with the post-war socialism, the socialism of the new generation. He died a pitiful figure.

Hyndman should, however, be gratefully remembered for the splendid services he rendered the cause for many years before 1914.

February, 1921.

28

OLD RUSSIA AND A NEW WORLD

THE thought of the tenth anniversary of the Russian revolution is thrilling. When the young Soviet republic, bleeding and exhausted, was desperately struggling for her life against the combined strength of the anti-labor forces of the world, few of us entertained more than a hope that Russia would succeed. The odds against her were too great to encourage much confidence. Russia has succeeded. She triumphed over all her enemies. The tenth anniversary of the first Workers' Republic is, therefore, more than a Russian celebration, it is an international event. The workers of all countries unite on this occasion to hail triumphant Russia.

Russia, the greatest European country in population, territory and natural resources, was kept back from full development by centuries of misrule and oppression. Serfdom continued until 1861, long after its abolition in other countries. It took Russia forty-one years more to get some semblance of a parliament, the Duma. While social movements went on legally and openly in other countries, they continued to be illegal and underground conspiracies in Russia. A time came when the Russian government was unable to carry on war without the danger of revolution. The war with Japan was followed by the revolution of 1905; the war with the Central Powers brought about the great social revolution of 1917. The Czaristic government, demoralized by corruption and incompetence, sacrificed recklessly the blood and treasure of the nation. It no longer had roots in the hearts of the people. The

Czar's abdication was obtained almost as easily as the dismissal of a day laborer from an open shop plant. Not a soldier rose in defense of the "little father." In fact, the overthrow of the Czar was but an incident in the revolution which had already taken place in the minds and souls of the Russian people. Czardom was merely cast off as a superfluous and obstructing object.

A successful revolution is negative and destructive only in its initial stage; in its subsequent stages it must be positive and constructive. After the first stage of the Russian revolution the burning question was, "What next?" "Continue the war!" shouted the provisional Kerensky government. The Russian people rejected that answer. They did not want the war. They did not know what it was about. It was the Czar's war, not theirs. They were on the battlefields because the Czar had sent them there. But there is no more Czar, why more war? The people were yearning for peace and land. If they could not get those precious things now, after the downfall of the Czar, there was no purpose in the revolution. Milyukov was indulging in imperialistic dreams about Constantinople; Kerensky was striving to ingratiate himself with the Allies. To the suffering masses that was all foreign and unintelligible; their hope lay in peace and land.

The provisional government carried on for about eight months. It was destroyed by the Bolsheviki in the revolution of November 7, 1917. It may just as truthfully be said that the Kerensky régime had destroyed itself, for it had done nothing to justify its existence; it had nothing to offer to the people, except more war, and had no reason to expect support from them. Revolutions are not carried out for the privilege of fighting wars. When the government which succeeded the Czar failed to give the people the two things they needed most they took matters into their own hands. They left the army, went back home and helped themselves to land. The Bolsheviki supported the people's claim and were, in turn, supported by the people. The Russian peasants may not have understood the fourteen points of Woodrow Wilson, or the twenty-one

points of the Third International, but they did very well understand that no government which might replace the Soviet régime would allow them to hold their lands. The Soviet government was, therefore, their government. The people suffered all the hardships of civil war, blockade, intervention, famine, but they fought for the Soviet power in order to defend their lands. They had their own issues with the government, and the latter was obliged to make modifications and concessions in various directions, culminating in the new economic policy, but whatever differences the people may have had with the government they stood loyally by it.

The tenth anniversary is perhaps a proper occasion for examining the Soviet balance sheet, but that is not the purpose of this article. We extended to Russia our helping hand in time of great need; we extend to her now our fraternal hand with heartiest congratulations and best wishes. This means so much to us that it does not really matter, for the purpose of the present celebration, whether Soviet Russia has achieved the maximum or the minimum benefits for the people. It has achieved very much. What does matter is the happy consciousness that we, as organized workers, gave to Russia liberal aid when she needed it most. In this we, members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, may justly take pride. We dug deep into our pockets to help the Russian famine sufferers in 1921. While raising large sums of money ourselves we helped popularize Russia's cause among the general public. Later, we organized the Russian American Industrial Corporation, and assisted in building up the clothing industry in Russia. Through the Amalgamated banks we have made it possible for many people in this country to send millions of dollars to help their needy friends in Russia. Before the task was undertaken by the Amalgamated banks it was practically impossible to send such help from New York. Our solidarity with the Russian workers has been manifested in real and helpful form. We come to this celebration joyfully because of having made our contribution to the welfare of the Russian people.

Russia has her internal difficulties. We may be interested in them and try to understand them; we may even have our sympathies and antipathies with respect to the persons and issues, but it is for the Russian workers themselves to solve their own problems. We could not if we would, and should not if we could, interfere with them. Russia is entitled to self-determination as the labor movements in all other countries are. Russia's internal problems should not affect our joy at the completion of the first decade of her revolutionary career.

The attitude of the United States government towards Russia is of particular interest to us. Immediately after the downfall of the Czar in March, 1917, President Wilson recognized the new government, assisted it with a loan of $190,000,000, and sent a commission to Russia to help keep her in the war. The commission was headed by Elihu Root and had a trade union representative, James Duncan, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor. After Kerensky's downfall President Wilson refused to recognize the Soviet government. Bakhmeteff continued to act as Russian ambassador even when the government which had sent him here no longer existed. The United States government gave him large sums of money, which remained from the loan to the Kerensky government, and which Bakhmeteff used for anti-Soviet activities. President Wilson sent troops to aid the military and naval forces of other governments in their intervention and blockading of Russia, although Congress had not declared war against that country. The American government also supported Kolchak in his war upon Russia. Later Ludwig Martens was deported from this country because he had acted as Russia's representative, although he had done nothing in violation of American laws.

Though the American government was helping Russia's enemies in every way, the United States Congress voted $20,000,000 for Russian famine relief. The relief work was carried out in an admirable manner under the direction of Herbert Hoover, now Secretary of Commerce. It is also noteworthy that while the Russian government is still denied recognition by the United States government, both governments were

represented at the recent Economic Conference at Geneva. At that conference the American delegates supported the Soviet representatives in the declaration that the capitalist system and the communist system may exist at the same time.

Recognition by the United States, which is a vital matter for Russia, is perhaps as remote now as it ever was. Some years ago sentiment for Soviet Russia was growing within the ranks of organized labor in America. The spirit in favor of Soviet recognition was gaining strength, and a trade union organization was formed to promote trade relations with Russia. Unfortunately, Russia's professional friends in this country have destroyed all that friendship and support. The conduct of those friends has strengthened the hands of Russia's enemies and alienated many of Russia's real friends in the labor movement, whose active cooperation would have been valuable. The American labor movement judges Soviet Russia by her professional friends in America. The only thing that those friends have done successfully was to embitter the American trade unions against Russia. On the day when Russian will free herself from her professional friends in this country she will win true friends among the American workers. We hope that that day is not far off.

On its tenth anniversary the stability of the Soviet government is universally recognized and Russia is within the family of nations. We salute Soviet Russia and extend to her our sincerest and heartiest working class greetings.

November, 1927.

29

ON A MISSION OF INTERNATIONALISM

In 1924, international labor solidarity was dramatized in a unique manner. In that year the Mexican labor movement had attained its highest power, industrially and politically. The revolution, begun more than a decade before, was won at last. The despot Diaz was driven from power and from the country. Then came a succession of short-lived administrations, revolutionary and counter-revolutionary. At last an orderly election was held, and Plutarco Elias Calles, who has since become known as the Strong Man of Mexico, was elected President on the Labor party ticket. That was the first case, in very many years, in which the power of government in Mexico was handed over legally and peaceably by an outgoing president to an incoming one.

The inauguration of Calles was made by the labor movement an occasion for extraordinary celebration and rejoicing. In connection with that the idea was conceived of holding simultaneously the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and of the Mexican Federation of Labor; the former in El Paso, on the American side of the Rio Grande, and the latter, in Juarez, on the Mexican side of the river.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America had received an invitation from the Mexican Federation of Labor. I had the pleasure of attending the sessions of the Mexican Convention and extending the greetings of the Amalgamated to them. And I witnessed the following scene:

The fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Con-

gress to the American Federation of Labor Convention, Swales and Cramp, addressed the Mexican Convention. Secretary Trevino of the Mexican Federation of Labor responded to their addresses. In his speech he stated that as he was talking to the convention, arms and munitions were being delivered from British vessels in British Honduras, which is right below Mexico, to be used by Mexican counter-revolutionists, under the leadership of General Flores, against the revolutionary government of Mexico. Secretary Trevino asked the British labor movement to come to the aid of the Mexican labor movement and the Mexican revolutionary government, elected by the people. The British delegates, right there and then, drafted a cable to their colleagues at home, conveying the information to them, and calling upon them to take measures to stop at once that transportation of arms and munitions. The text of the cable was read to the delegates and forwarded to England. The Flores counter-revolution did not materialize. Perhaps it was stopped by the cable to the British Labor party. That was an historic incident. The youngest labor movement in the world appealed for help to the oldest labor movement, and received it promptly. The British labor movement helped in saving Mexico from counter-revolution. There were a number of dramatic moments in connection with the two conventions. Some of them were much more spectacular than the one described, but none of them was more significant. That episode came to my mind in connection with the visit of Walter M. Citrine to this country. It was an illustration of the organized workers of the world making world history.

Citrine is the general secretary of the British Trade Union Congress. In Great Britain that is the highest office in the trade union movement. While a new chairman is elected each year, the secretary is a permanent officer. Citrine is also president of the International Federation of Trade Unions. In that capacity, he is in charge of the anti-fascist activities of the international labor movement. He was invited by the American Federation of Labor to address its convention last month in San Francisco on the fascist issue. The invitation to Citrine was an ex-

traordinary one. The British Trade Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor annually exchange fraternal delegates. Two delegates were thus sent from England to the San Francisco convention. The invitation to Citrine was, therefore, unusual. If the message brought by Citrine had been delivered by one of the two regular British delegates, it would have probably come as a matter of routine. Having been brought by the supreme officer of the organization, who came for that purpose alone, the message assumed special importance, and was brought out in boldest relief. It meant that the American Federation of Labor undertook to present the fascist issue to the American workers in the most effective manner.

Citrine's address at the American Federation of Labor convention was a powerful exposition of labor's case against fascism, presented with great ability. There are some things on which the British and the American trade union movements differ. One instance is that of political action, which the British labor movement accepts and the American labor movement rejects. Another is the attitude toward socialism. But on the issue of fascism, both movements agree. The declaration of the American Federation of Labor in the matter of fascism is clear and unmistakable. President William Green was intensely in earnest when he thundered away on the convention platform against the menace of fascism.

Walter Citrine brought to the American workers a threefold message:

1—The message against fascism. All liberty-loving people are now being challenged by fascism, but no one has a more vital interest in combating it than the labor movement. Wherever the monster of fascism raises its hideous head, the labor movement is its first victim. There can be no labor movement where there is no freedom of speech, press and assembly. Fascism is the negation of all freedom for the people. Fascism and freedom are mutually exclusive. There can be no fascism *with* freedom and there can be no labor movement *without* freedom. Wherever fascism succeeds, the labor movement must go. That has been established so clearly that there are no dif-

ferences of opinion about it. If the labor movement is to live, fascism must be kept out. Reaction, like progress, knows no political or physical boundaries. The war in Europe of twenty years ago pulled us into its vortex; European fascism, which has many followers in this country, may likewise drive us into that catastrophe unless we offer the strongest resistance. To the building up of that resistance, Citrine's visit contributed very much.

2—The world is filled with racial and national animosities. It was most important that a message of international labor solidarity be brought here to counteract the destructive effects of national bitterness and hatred, which are making for a new world war. Walter Citrine, as head of the International Federation of Trade Unions, was in the best position to bring us that message. It was timely. It was effective.

3—Walter Citrine, as secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, brought us a message from the organized workers in his own country. And it was good to get it. Great Britain was the home of capitalism, and the British trade union movement is the mother of the international trade union movement. In Great Britain modern trade unionism was born. Since the days of the Luddites, when the workers, in their blind rage, destroyed machines in the mistaken belief that they would thereby stop the displacement of human labor; and since the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs, who were transported to slavery in exile because they had organized a union, the British workers have risen from absolute helplessness to a position of power. In the teeth of powerful opposition; in the teeth of the blackest betrayal on the part of some of its trusted leaders, the British labor movement has steadily forged ahead. In the present labor movement tragedy in various countries we naturally turn to the organized British workers for encouragement. And they have not failed us. The triumph of the British labor movement in the recent municipal elections has brought renewed assurance, fresh cheer and hope, to the workers of the world. After the tragic events in Italy, Germany and Austria, a ringing voice comes from Great Britain proclaiming

to friend and foe that the international labor movement still lives. This movement is now partly underground. The mother of trade unionism extends hope and encouragement to the labor movements both above and under ground.

Walter Citrine brought us this three-fold message. His visit with us has helped to hearten the forces in this country which are struggling against fascism, and are working for international brotherhood, and for a better understanding of internationalism among the workers in America.

November, 1934.

PART THREE: AFTER FORTY-FIVE YEARS—REVIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES

REVIEWS AND PERSPECTIVES

After Forty-Five Years

Forty-five years of active work in the labor movement! It may be appropriate to ask: If I were to live my life over again, would I, willingly, follow the same course, knowing what it has been? The desire to appear right in one's own estimation naturally prompts the answer: Yes. I do say yes, but for a different reason. I entered the labor movement *emotionally;* I would reenter it *intellectually*. I entered it, because it afforded an outlet for a crushing feeling of frustration. I had lost a newly found life—a different and better life than the one I was born into. It came as a promise and vanished like a mirage. I felt cheated, robbed. I was bitter. I leaped desperately into the seething activities of the young Jewish labor movement. I knew of nothing else that I could turn to. I would enter the labor movement again, because of the realization that the labor movement is the only hope of the human race. And that is why I am in the labor movement today. I was driven to it by the force of feeling; I am held in it by the power of conviction.

In the Beginning

I was born in 1875 (in the Jewish Pale of Settlement), in Czaristic Russia, in a small town near Minsk, capital city of the province of that name. Minsk is now the capital of White Russia in the Soviet Union. The pogroms, and the general oppression to which the Jews in Russia were subjected in the early eighties, set in motion a steadily growing stream of migrants, moving westward to great and mysterious America.

I never experienced the horrors of a pogrom, but I was not spared the terrors of expecting one. That was more than half a century ago, but I have never forgotten them. One time we children learned from our elders that our town was marked for a pogrom within the coming days. I can still see our Gentile friends on the eve of the expected pogrom. They were good people, coming to our little town frequently to render various household services, especially on a Sabbath, when we were not allowed to do work ourselves. As I remember it, our non-Jewish friends were asked why they were going to attack us. Were we not living in neighborly friendliness? Did they have any grievance against us? Yes, they appreciated our friendship and had no grievances. But the pogrom, they told us, was ordered by the authorities. St. Petersburg wanted it.

A few days later the would-be pogrom-makers smilingly brought us the glad news that the pogrom order had been revoked. No one knew why. But all were happy. Perhaps it was the protests from abroad that caused the Czar's government to stop the pogroms. To us it was a miracle from heaven, the finger of God. I am not certain that things happened exactly as I relate them. But I am certain that I have always remembered that dreadful pogrom expectancy precisely as I just stated.

Everyone who could, ran from the land of pogroms and oppression. My father was among the fortunate ones who were able to undertake the difficult and expensive pilgrimage to America. He left for America in the winter of 1883. At first, things did not go well with him. It was five years before he was able to send for his family.

The eighties of the previous century were a long time before the World War for democracy in the present century. The freedom of movement was much less restricted then than now. Passports and visas were almost unknown. It was somewhat difficult to get out of Russia without a passport. That restriction gave rise to a prosperous smuggling trade. At the frontier a well-organized group, who worked in partnership with government officials, smuggled unpassported passengers across the

line. Once out of Russia, one was able to move freely from country to country. At Castle Garden, then the New York port of entry, the immigrant was detained only long enough to have his name inscribed in a book for statistical purposes.

As steerage passengers in the old steamship *Egypt,* of the White Star Line, we landed in New York in the latter part of May, 1888. Treading upon the soil of America seemed unreal; it was a sweet dream.

In Russia I had received the traditional Ghetto education. From my father's letters, American educational opportunities held a great fascination for me. In America, my father informed me, schools were free, and open to everybody. The little "schooling" that there was in my town was not available to my people. But it was different in America.

Overflowing with enthusiasm, I rushed to school almost immediately upon my arrival in New York. After a few weeks, the school closed for the summer. Ignorance of the English language was a serious handicap, but I was determined to go on.

I was back at public school when it reopened, this time for a full school year. That was an interesting and fruitful year, one of the very happiest years of my life. Great and fascinating vistas opened before me. I learned new subjects and took deep draughts from the life-giving fountain of knowledge.

When the school year ended I was apprenticed to learn the trade of ladies' cloak-making, which was my father's own trade. I was placed in a typical sweatshop. I carried my own sewing machine with me. That was like one going to hell and taking his own coal with him. Many sweatshop workers had their own machines. I was dazed in my helplessness. That was not what I came to America for. My hopes were dashed. But I did not complain. My father declared that he was unable to carry the heavy family burden unaided. As the eldest child it was my duty to help. I agreed. If there was at that time a Jewish institution in New York to which a boy in my circumstances could turn for information and advice in planning his life, I was not aware of it. Nor was anyone else in my circle.

We lived in a new Ghetto, separated from the American people by a thousand invisible walls. We had been torn away from the soil on which we were born and from which a certain pattern of life had developed and we had not yet adjusted ourselves to our new environment. In the past fifty years many useful institutions have been built up by the immigrants. But in my boyhood days we lived in a vast void.

Thus I became a sweatshop worker at the age of fourteen, and with the sweatshop workers I have remained to this day. I worked long hours and for very small wages. I was willing. Everybody worked as I did and earned little. My position was no worse than that of the others. I saw nothing ahead of me and that was depressing. The great ambition of many of my fellow sweatshop workers was to save up money and get somewhere—go into business. I had no such ambition. I saved no money. I gave all my earnings to my parents, who needed it, particularly since the family was increasing. I left school to help them and I helped them as well as I could. The only thing I was certain of was uncertainty.

There was a boarder in our family. Every Ghetto family had one or more, to help pay rent, their number depending upon the available sleeping space. Our boarder was a socialist. Of socialism I knew only the name. I am not sure that he knew more than I, as he never tried to explain socialism to me, though he was eager to make me a socialist. In Russia, socialism was, to us, synonymous with nihilism. And nihilism meant killing the Czar and public officials. I was afraid of it. Secretly my boarder friend gave me some socialist literature to read. At one time he asked me to go with him to a mass meeting and hear a speaker. I had never been at a mass meeting and never heard or seen a speaker. I went. That was on a Friday evening, the best time for a Jewish labor meeting, as the workers did not have to "get up" the following morning —Sabbath morning—even in the busy season. The meeting was held at a popular hall, at 56 Orchard Street. It was a meeting of the shirt makers' union.

At a union mass meeting general social problems were dis-

cussed more often than trade problems. That was because, as a rule, the unions were too weak to exert any influence on trade conditions. The topics of discussion at such meetings were socialism, anarchism, individualism, democracy, social reform, social revolution, etc. That type of discussion had the enormous advantage of familiarizing the young Jewish immigrants with problems of which they would otherwise have been entirely ignorant. The shirt makers' union of forty-five years ago had among its members nearly all of the socialist and anarchist Jewish intellectuals, immigrants like ourselves. They spoke to us and wrote for us.

With a fast-beating heart I accompanied my elder friend to the meeting. We elbowed our way up the very narrow stairway. The small hall was overcrowded. A speaker was on the platform. As we came in I heard the speaker hurl at the audience this question: "And when Czar Alexander II was assassinated, was not the blood that flowed from his body red?" Evidently, the speaker was trying to show that all men were created equal. But to me his words were only a confirmation of my belief that socialists were nihilists and nihilists were regicides. My heart was in my throat. I was in mortal fear that I would be handed a bomb and told to kill some one. My friend did not notice my fear; at any rate, he did not show it. I sat through the meeting. When it ended peacefully, I was relieved. I went to more meetings, to mass meetings and to lectures. The first lecturer I heard was Sergius Schewitch, a Russian, who was editor of the German socialist daily, *New Yorker Volks Zeitung*. He spoke in German. I was much impressed with the lecturer and the lecture. My curiosity was aroused. I was eager to learn. But as yet I was taking no active part in the labor movement. I was still a public-school pupil. I joined the movement early in 1890. I cannot recall the exact time when I became a member of the Operators' and Cloakmakers' Union No. 1, but it was early enough in 1890 to enable me to participate as a union member in the May Day demonstration of that year. That was the real beginning of my labor movement activities. And that was the first May Day

demonstration. I did not know then the origin of labor's May Day. Nor was I aware of the fact that I was participating in the inauguration of a great international labor institution. The labor parade stirred me; I was thrilled.

Joining the Labor Movement

In the summer of 1890 came the great cloakmakers' lockout struggle in New York. There were 8,000 workers in the industry, and they were all locked out. The manufacturers were organized in a strong association. They had hoped to nip the new union in the bud through the lockout. They failed. It was a desperate struggle for three long months. The workers were literally starving. There were frequent parades through the downtown streets. It was a real sacrifice for hungry and thirsty people to march for many blocks in the scorching summer heat in order to show that they were united in their common cause. But they marched. One time a large water wagon, sent by a philanthropic institution, came up to meet us in front of the Cooper Union building, as we were straggling back from a parade to Union Square. We were given all the ice water we could consume and were grateful. Food was collected from grocery stores and butcher shops; also, cash from pedestrians, and distributed among the locked out workers. From the present distance, I can see that it was the blind force of desperation that won that poorly organized and poorly conducted fight for us.

The cutters were the only Americans among us. They were with us at the beginning of the fight and against us later on. We won despite their having failed us in the end.

In the midst of the thousands of foreigners—Jews and Gentiles—an American intellectual arose to become the leader. He was a young man of good appearance, and a fluent speaker. Though he spoke only English we seemed to understand him. We knew him as Professor Garside. We did not know where he came from when the fight began, and did not know where he went to when it ended. But he worked hard during the lockout and became very popular with the workers. Later it

was rumored that he was an industrial spy. Why did he come to us? Does the fact that he urged the acceptance of a very unfavorable settlement—which was rejected—hold the key to the answer? Who knows?

When the lockout came I was working in a place on East Broadway. We were told by our employer that we would not be allowed to work because we were members of the union. I can't say that things were entirely clear to me. However, I did my bit in the fight. I was too young for the picket line or the speaker's platform. But I was able to do lighter work. My employer saw me give away handbills announcing to the public that he had locked us out. He remembered it when we returned to work after the lockout. He would not permit me to take my seat at the machine. Looking around I saw that my fellow-workers were deliberately disregarding the scene of the employer ordering me out of the shop. I concluded that they would not "bother" to stand up for a fifteen-year-old boy, and I left the place. Thus, I was the victim of my own first victory. I did not know how to file a complaint with the union. But that would have been useless, because of the prevailing confusion. No one knew what to do or how to do it. My indignation was at white heat. My revenge was that I devoted all my free time to the movement.

When I discovered that socialism was not nihilism, and did not require human blood I lost my fear of it, and came to like it. Socialism became another word for freedom. It was only later that I passed from an emotional to an intellectual acceptance of socialism. My experience was also the experience of many. First came the response to the crusader's appeal; then an understanding of the philosophy of the cause.

But even at this late day, after so many years and decades of socialist education, the emotional appeal of socialism is the strongest. Can it be otherwise with a mass movement? What was it that made Marx the supreme figure in the international labor movement? The Marxian dialectics? His materialist interpretation of history? His theory of surplus value? Those are all the work of a great intellect. How many among the

millions of Marx-worshiping workers have the time and the means to familiarize themselves with them! But all of them know Marx' great slogan, *Workers of the World, Unite!* That appeal electrifies, inspires, and stirs them to action. Non-socialist economists may be able to "modify" or "disprove" Marx' scientific theories, but they can do nothing at all against his powerful appeal for world labor unity. This appeal does not weaken with time. If anything, it becomes more potent, because more vitally needed. Of course, Marx' great appeal, if unsupported by his high intellectual authority, would have lacked force. The Jews remember Moses as *Moshe Rabenu,* Moses, our master, our teacher. But that is not alone because he gave them the Decalogue, but, and perhaps more so, because he taught them how to be free and led them from the slavery of Egypt through the desert wilderness to the Promised Land. In the same way Marx' *Capital* is to many millions of workers their labor Bible, even if they have no time to study it, and Marx is their master and teacher. Many great figures have grown up in the international labor movement since Marx. Not one has displaced him. In fact, Marx' authority in the labor movement has grown enormously since his own time. The desperate struggle of German nazism against Marxism is a tribute to the power of Marxism.

Speaking of Moses, it is interesting to observe that the great prophet and spiritual leader succeeded only in arousing the slaves and leading them through the wilderness to the Promised Land. Moses himself never saw the land except as a vision. It took Joshua, the general, to storm Jericho. But if the inspired and inspiring Moses had not led the slave rebels safely through the wilderness, despite the sabotaging riffraff, there would have been no victory for Joshua's sword.

My activities in the labor movement were both industrial and political. When I became active in the union I also became active in the Socialist Labor party.

After the lockout a group of us, of whom I was the youngest, organized the Cloakmakers Citizens Educational Club of the S.L.P. Our objective was, as indicated in the name, education.

Our purpose in particular was the naturalization of our fellow-workers. I had a passion for that. While I was six years too young to vote myself, I carried on an incessant personal propaganda among my fellow-workers urging them to become citizens. In framing the name for the club I took care to emphasize *citizenship*. In my work for citizenship education I was guided by these simple propositions: One, we foreigners must avail ourselves of the privilege to become part of the American community, of the people we live with. It is our duty to become citizens. Two, having become citizens, it is our duty to vote the socialist ticket, because it is the labor ticket.

To enable our people to become naturalized it was necessary to teach them how to read and write English, primarily their own names, and also to teach them elementary civics, so that they might be able to pass citizenship examinations. The club conducted classes once or twice a week. Morris Hillquit was engaged as teacher at two dollars an evening. I acted as his voluntary assistant. We helped many to obtain their citizenship papers. Workers who were too timid to go to public evening schools came to us.

The union, which had emerged triumphant and powerful from the lockout struggle, soon began to weaken. Before long, factionalism brought demoralization. The disintegration of the union could not but affect our educational activities. They slackened and finally came to a complete stop. Years afterwards I met men who had attended our classes. They remembered our work gratefully. The arts of reading and writing, which we had taught them, enabled them to go into business and make money.

Factionalism and Dual Unionism Shortly after my headlong plunge into the labor movement I began to taste the bitter fruit of factionalism. And factionalism is still with us; now more than ever before. Who knows if the labor movement will ever be able to conquer this, its worst foe? It is my dream to see a labor movement which has room enough for all shades of opinion. All labor move-

ment views should find expression within a united movement. I realize that this is a dream, a utopia. But once in a long while a dream, a utopia, does come true. And aren't we told that the cooperative commonwealth is an unrealizable dream? Yet, we believe it is coming. The worst part of factionalism is the fact that it becomes an end in itself. It is *my faction, right or wrong*. All means to that end are sanctioned. A factionalist is ready, eager, to accept as gospel truth any preposterous falsehood about one in the opposing faction.

Factionalism leading to splits has been taken too lightly by us. Instead of seeking to understand the cause of factionalist dissension and to eliminate factionalism, we seek to force the issue and eliminate factionalists. That is true—using the present-time jargon—of both rights and lefts. I know that what I suggest may easily be laughed out of court as sentimentalism. Perhaps it is. My answer is, that one need not apologize for sentimentalism where the welfare of the labor movement is involved. My answer is also the Italian and the German labor movements. The tragedies of Italy and Germany cry out to us in a voice of thunder that no price is too high, and no sacrifice too great, for a united movement. It might be argued that Mussolini and Hitler would have come even if the movements were united. But there were no Mussolini and Hitler dictatorships before the labor movements in Italy and Germany split. Both of them came when there were factions fighting each other instead of a united movement fighting the common enemy. We know that little Austria, whose labor movement *was united,* held out against fascism longer than either Italy or Germany. Austria fell, not because of division in the labor movement—there was no such division—but because with Italy and Germany having gone fascist, Austria was in a trap and doomed. The Austrian workers fought their last battle like heroes. They knew that they were fighting for a lost cause, and that there was no hope for them. What a different Europe we would have had today if the labor movements in Italy and in Germany were as united as was the labor movement in Austria!

I may be told that I have myself participated in factionalism and splits. Assuming that I did so willingly—which I did not —I declare emphatically that it is precisely my own experiences with them that impel me to seek to overcome factionalism and avert splits. That is no new conclusion just arrived at. That has been my position since many years, and was my only reason for advocating unity between the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist party more than twenty years ago. That, in turn, led to my expulsion from the Socialist Labor party, whose controlling group fought every move towards unity. In the present maze of factionalism it would be impossible for me to identify myself either as right, left or centrist. None of these designations makes sense in the American labor movement, except with respect to affiliation.

How can they make sense in a situation in which little more than a tenth of the workers are organized; where a labor organizer, however conservative or even reactionary, is regarded as a "red" and a "Bolshevik" only because he favors the organization of labor, or he prefers the legitimate trade union to the company union? Of course, within small groups lefts and rights may have a meaning. But they are not the labor movement. When ninety per cent of the workers still have to be educated in the need of organization, in the A B C of labor unionism, there can be no justification for splitting into rights and lefts. Inasmuch as the factionalists usually include persons who have more than an ordinary understanding of and interest in the labor movement, their mutual warfare is a serious injury to the movement. If there is any leftism in this country it is in the efforts to organize the workers for the class struggle, to bring them into one camp, regardless of theories. Theories without organized masses are abstractions; organized masses without theories in the beginning will eventually accept those theories which reflect their interests.

Yes, I have been in several labor movement splits. I always tried to prevent them because—I am not ashamed to admit it —I was afraid of them. And I fear them now more than ever before. I know that it is most difficult to avert a split. The

individual cannot be his own union or party. One who is in the labor movement becomes involved in situations as they arise. Of all the labor movement splits in which I have been, and that I have watched from the outside, I don't know of one that was not preventable, including the split which led to the formation of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. This is a sweeping statement. But that is my firm conviction. I did all that I could to prevent the latter split.

Shortly after the 1890 lockout, internal dissension began to menace the union. That was checked for a while by the shock of the first prison sentence imposed upon one of our pickets. He was pardoned before his term expired. Later, the chief officer of the union was indicted on an extortion charge made by an employer. The union officer jumped his $10,000 bail and fled to Canada. He was brought back, tried, convicted, sent to Sing Sing prison, and later pardoned by the governor. After his return to the union's office the repressed factionalism broke out like an explosion.

On the surface it was a fight between the anarchists, with whom the administration was allied, and the socialists, whom the administration opposed. The line-up was so regarded at the time. Having been an active participant in those situations, and in the light of subsequent experiences, I can state definitely that socialism and anarchism were mere incidents. Of course, incidents do influence the general situation. Only in this sense were socialism and anarchism factors. But they were not the essential cause of the fight. One may as well say that the political battles in the United States are due to the fact that one party stands for democracy, and the other for republicanism. There are factional quarrels in unions which are free of socialism and anarchism. The cause of disruption in the first strong union in the needle trades was something else. It was the unfortunate combination of utter lack of organization training on the part of everybody and the ever-present ambition of "leaders" to be the proprietors of the organizations led by them.

When the conflict was coming to a head, eighteen of us,

"ringleaders," were informed by the secretary of the union that we had been placed under charges and would not be allowed to attend meetings. That was on the eve of union elections in 1893. To this day I don't know the nature of those "charges." No one ever did know it, not even the accusers. Our pleas for a trial, even if without knowledge of the charges, were denied. But we were barred from union meetings pending "trial." Under great pressure from friends and after repeated delays, we agreed to form a new union. Some of us did so with much reluctance. I remember well my own lack of desire to resort to that extreme measure. But there seemed to be no other course open.

In this connection it may be well to remember that the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America had been regarded as a dual union before it received its charter from the American Federation of Labor, in October, 1933. The Amalgamated was not, strictly speaking, a dual union. I shall deal with that later. Assuming that it was, what were we to do when we found ourselves outlawed by the United Garment Workers and refused a hearing by the American Federation of Labor? We were compelled by conditions to build a union, and had to do it alone. If we had failed, we would have been remembered, or forgotten, as fools, or traitors, who tried to disrupt the labor movement. Having succeeded, we are, to the labor movement, constructive trade unionists, and to the general public, "industrial statesmen," whatever this high-sounding phrase may mean. Success, power, determined the outcome in our case, not labor movement ethics.

To the question "Is dual unionism justified?" the answer must be this:—Unity is labor's most precious possession. That must be guarded under all circumstances. Dual unionism disrupts labor unity. Hence, no dual unionism. But labor movement history tells us that dual unionism sometimes becomes unavoidable.

In the 90's we did not think out the dual union problem. That was a time of all-around dual unionism. The American Federation of Labor and Knights of Labor, nationally; dupli-

cation of central labor bodies, locally; and multiplication of unions in trades—American Federation of Labor, Knights of Labor, and independents. As a practical matter, the launching of another union in the cloak industry did not, at the moment, make any difference, as the older union was weak and ineffective. We were in the midst of one of the worst depressions in American history. Neither union was able to make headway. A reconciliation was effected by the intervention of other labor groups. The principal peacemaker was the Hebrew American Typographical Union No. 83. That union had itself just made peace with a dual union. Our peace was followed by an ill-fated general strike in 1894. And then came more confusion and demoralization.

After the lost strike in New York in 1894, I went to St. Louis, and from there to Chicago. In St. Louis I was a member of the Knights of Labor cloakmakers' union, and its delegate to the Knights of Labor district assembly in that city. At one time I learned that the knee pants makers' local assembly of the Knights of Labor had decided to apply to the United Garment Workers (American Federation of Labor) for a charter. When I asked for the reason for that action I was told this story: A United Garment organizer had come to town in order to organize a local union for the United Garment Workers. The fact that there was an established knee pants makers' local assembly of the Knights of Labor made no difference to that organizer. No argument and no pleading helped. The knee pants workers were just then on the eve of a strike. The new organizer made it known that his union would not recognize the strike. In order to protect themselves and keep their lines intact, the workers decided that they, the Knights of Labor members, would themselves apply for a United Garment Workers' charter, and prevent others from using such a charter against them. Thus, as a matter of self-protection, the knee pants makers held charters from both rival organizations. In the end they left the Knights of Labor and remained with the United Garment Workers. The secretary of the St. Louis Knights of Labor district assembly fought

the United Garment Workers. Later he became an officer of the United and fought the Amalgamated.

Labor Movement Ethics

I used the phrase "labor movement ethics." I did so advisedly. The labor movement must have a standard of ethics. *No standard can be too high for the labor movement.* The ethics of the labor movement is radically different from the ethics of others. Outside of the labor movement, life is competitive; in the labor movement it is cooperative. Without cooperation there can be no labor movement. The higher the degree of cooperation, the more effective the movement. The labor movement must have its own yardstick for ethics. What may be good elsewhere may not be good in the labor movement.

It is good ethics for big business men to swallow up the small ones. It is good business, and entirely proper, for a merchant to take advantage of a fellow business man in distress and eliminate him from business competition. Labor movement ethics requires that the utmost aid be given to a labor organization in distress and help it to survive and succeed.

In business life any and all means that may be used against an opponent are fair and proper, if they do not conflict with the law. In the labor movement, legality is not the only guide. The means and methods used by the labor movement must serve the interests of the movement and strengthen the morale of the workers. If they have the opposite effect those means and methods are improper and unethical, even if ethical according to other standards.

While business groups may thrive on deceit, fraud, and corruption, as exemplified by the powerful trusts and other combinations, the labor movement can thrive only on a high standard of ethics, on high human values. Dishonesty, in order to be profitable as a policy, must be practiced by the few upon the many; not by the many upon the few. The workers, being the many, cannot be dishonest with themselves, except to their own injury. Indecency and corruption in the labor movement

must be guarded against, not only because they are inherently improper, but because to the labor movement they are fatal. In the labor movement there can be only collective responsibility, collective action, collective progress and collective achievement. What may be a mere violation of a paragraph of a legal code elsewhere may be high treason in the labor movement.

When dealing with factionalism or dual unionism, labor movement ethics must be observed. If a hostile faction or a dual union is fought by deliberate strike-breaking, the faction may be injured; but strike-breaking is promoted, and that injures the labor movement. If factionalism within the movement is fought by any means that is contrary to labor movement ethics the labor movement will suffer in consequence, even if the offending faction succeeds.

From the Labor Scene in the 90's

During the depression years in the 90's there were some highly dramatic episodes in the labor movement. In New York a conference on unemployment was held, in which trade unionists, socialists and liberals participated. The conference called a mass meeting at the old Madison Square Garden. The vast arena was crowded. On the speakers' platform were representatives from all participating groups. Among the speakers were Daniel De Leon of the Socialist Labor party; Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor; Heinrich Weissmann of the bakery workers' union, and Seth Low, President of Columbia University. Factionalist passion dominated the meeting.

Weissmann had a strong opposition among the bakers. His voice was drowned in the storm of hisses that kept up throughout his speech. Not a word reached the audience. De Leon was received with applause by his followers and with hisses by his opponents. His voice was entirely inadequate for the great amphitheater. But the hissing did not continue long. De Leon was able to speak. The volume of hisses that greeted Gompers far exceeded Weissmann's reception. It was a remarkable scene. There was the short, stocky man, with heavy black mus-

tache, large head with thick black hair, his face flushed with excitement, defying the hissing thousands. They hissed and he spoke. He roared with the voice of a lion. Every word was heard. The hissing stopped but Gompers went on. Gompers won out by the sheer force of his vocal power. Low was greeted by mild hissing. As President of Columbia University he was held responsible for forcing De Leon out of his professorship for joining the socialist movement. Low was outside of the labor movement. The opposition to him was much milder than to the other speakers. He was able to make his talk. The only thing that seemed to unite the great mass was hissing, opposition to somebody. The meeting did not help to consolidate the workers' ranks and promote their cause. But it gave an outlet to pent-up feelings and reflected well the state of the American labor movement. It was a demonstration of labor's blind rage.

The idea of taking unemployed workers to Washington and demanding relief came simultaneously to various persons. Several "generals" appeared with armies. Conspicuous among them was Jacob S. Coxey of Massilon, Ohio. His army, received with food, lodging, and friendship by communities en route, was not allowed to enter Washington. The authorities were scared. They were afraid of a revolution. They were much more genuinely afraid of a revolution in 1893 than in 1934 despite all talk of "revolution" in the latter year. The army was broken up. A number of peaceful marchers found themselves in jail. John Frye of St. Louis, Missouri, a member of the Socialist Labor party, was the only "general" that succeeded in outwitting the frightened authorities and bringing his army to the capital city. But he accomplished no more than Coxey. When I saw him at the Socialist Labor party convention in New York, in 1896, he was still conscious of his "military" importance. His visit card testified to that. In his new six-dollar Baxter Street suit, bought for him by the New York comrades, and in his black Fedora hat, the tall Frye did look like a "general."

The anti-labor forces, who truly feared the marching un-

employed army, sought to discredit them by ridicule. "Coxey's army" was for a long time a byword, coined by the enemies of labor and unthinkingly accepted by the masses. But the ridicule died out, and Coxey's name is favorably remembered.

Of the numerous strikes in the 90's, the one best known to us was the Pullman strike, conducted by the American Railway Union (A.R.U.), of which Eugene Victor Debs was the chief officer. The strike was broken by President Cleveland's troops. Debs was imprisoned for disobeying an injunction order. When Debs was released from Woodstock Jail in 1895 I attended his reception meeting in the large assembly hall of Battery D, in Chicago. In contrast to the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York, the Chicago meeting was harmonious, enthusiastic, and a real demonstration against government strike-breaking, and for labor unity.

In 1895 the Socialist Labor party launched the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as a socialist trade union movement, against both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. That bold move brought the confusion of the trade union movement into the political party, and that led to the disastrous split of 1899.

There were two outstanding figures in the Socialist Labor party, Lucien Sanial and Daniel De Leon. In the stormy days of the 90's De Leon conducted the fight for socialism in the Knights of Labor; Sanial in the American Federation of Labor. There is a general impression that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was arbitrarily created and forced upon the socialist movement by De Leon. It was not so. There was nothing stable in the trade union movement. Since the Knights were sinking and the Federation had not yet settled, the formation of a new trade union body was not so iconoclastic an act as it may now seem. The division within the socialist movement on the trade union issue became sharp subsequent to the formation of the Alliance.

There was general unrest, confusion and disharmony in the labor movement. The needle trades were no exception. To be sure, the situation among the needle trades workers was ag-

gravated by their own peculiar circumstances, particularly their inexperience.

There were frequent strikes, sometimes with and sometimes without short-lived victories, in the ladies' garment industry. In the men's clothing industry matters moved, or drifted, very much as in the women's wear industry—union enthusiasm, factionalism, dual unionism, Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, etc., etc. If anything, things were worse in the men's clothing industry, where a clique, headed by an adventurer, repeatedly called strikes for its own purposes.

The Level of Trades Unions

Because the Socialist Labor party had a large following among the needle trades workers, many have assumed that the Socialist Labor party trade union policy was responsible for the chaos in the needle trades unions in the 90's. It would be nearer the truth to say that the existing general chaos, among the needle trades workers and others, was responsible for the Socialist Labor party's policy. It took time for the fog to lift and reveal some recognizable outline in the lay of the land.

The development of unionism in the needle trades may be roughly divided into four periods.

The first period included the hazy and slow beginnings of the 80's and the early 90's.

The second period was one of stormy cross-currents within the movement, while the general stream was seeking its own level. That continued through the 90's and the first decade of the present century. In those two decades the needle trades workers learned, from their own dearly bought experiences, the technique of organization and struggle. At the beginning, a victorious strike was frequently a lost strike, because we did not know how to hold and consolidate own gains. Later, even a lost strike sometimes marked progress for us. We learned how to salvage gains from defeat.

The years from 1910 to the World War may be called the third period. For the purpose of identification, this may also be called the period of collective bargaining. The New York cloak-

makers' strike of 1910, led by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, brought the Protocol into the industry. "Protocol of Peace" was a novel term for a collective bargaining agreement. The significant fact of the Protocol was that it was the first time that organized employers and organized workers in a wearing apparel industry signed a collective bargaining agreement. In the following 5-6 years, the employers treated the Protocol of Peace as if it were a Protocol of War. In the hope of breaking the union, they resorted to every possible strategy, including murder charges against the union's officers. Those officers were indicted, arrested and kept behind bars. The charges were subsequently dropped and the union men released. After each fight with the union the employers came to terms with it. The union could no longer be disregarded by the employers as in previous years. That was the all-important fact in the Protocol period.

In the men's clothing industry, too, the year 1910 marked the beginning of enduring collective bargaining agreements. The desperate strike in Chicago in that year was followed by the first such collective bargaining agreement in this industry, the agreement with the Hart, Schaffner and Marx firm. The great clothing worker strikes of 1910-13 in Chicago, New York, and other centers laid the foundation for permanent labor organizations in the men's clothing industry.

The fourth period is the one since the war. The needle trades unions had made great progress in the war years. Many had believed that with the end of the favorable labor conditions produced by the war those unions would disappear. That belief seemed plausible, because in the past it was so difficult to organize needle trades workers, and almost impossible to keep them organized. The disappearance theory applied particularly to the Amalgamated. This union was organized after the war had begun, and was regarded as a war accident. The post-war years showed that the needle trades unions had developed great vitality and capacity for growth. Those unions are now accepted factors in their respective industries, and outstanding examples of well-functioning labor organizations.

The needle trades unions are regarded as socialist. Are they? This may be answered simply: There are socialists, there are non-socialists, and there are anti-socialists in those unions. The unions inquire into no one's social or political faith. This answer is truthful enough, but there is more to be said about it.

When the needle trades workers in the large centers began to organize, 45-50 years ago, socialists were the only ones to speak to them, to advise and guide them—young Jewish socialist intellectuals from Rusisa. Thus the beginnings were made in a socialist atmosphere. The sweatshop workers knew nothing of socialist principles. But they did know that the socialists were their friends, their only friends, so they became the friends of the socialists. Many of the workers became socialists. While they may not have grasped the intricacies of the socialist philosophy, they easily responded to the socialist appeal for common justice. Their lives in their old Ghetto homes and their lives in the sweatshops prepared them for that. Socialism alone gave them hope, and they embraced it. If they did not understand its message they sensed it. So the trade unions built by them were socialist unions, with socialist declarations of principles. The fight against the sweatshop was their fight against capitalism and for socialism.

When that fight was won, many of the former sweatshop workers unconsciously made peace with capitalism. Thus, as the unions grew in power and gained better conditions for the workers, the "revolutionary" temperament chilled and opposition to capitalism diminished. Even capitalist candidates for political office were supported. Those workers did not repudiate socialism. They drifted away from it as the sweatshop was becoming more tolerable. Those who both felt and understood socialism remained steadfast. It is for that reason that, however "practical" those unions may have become, they have retained a sympathetic attitude toward socialism; toward socialism, but not toward socialist unionism, as we shall soon see.

The difference between the socialist and the non-socialist attitudes is frequently accepted as the difference between idealism and practicalism. The implication is that the two are mutually

exclusive. Unions are said to become more practical and less idealistic as they grow in power. Moral: in order to achieve results, unions must be practical, not idealistic. But labor movement history is not made that way. What happens when a union is engaged in a battle? Does it not appeal to the workers' solidarity, to their sense of labor movement loyalty, to their spirit of self-sacrifice? There is no strike without such appeals. That is idealism, not "practicalism." A popular movement cannot achieve practical results without the driving force of idealism. The living body must have a soul, or it is just a robot. In some cases idealism is used only as an emergency measure, as in strikes and lockouts. When the emergency is over, idealism is tucked away in order to be brought out again in the next emergency. In such cases idealists are used to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the "practical" people, who are credited with the achievements. In other cases idealism is an ever-living force. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America would have gone under before it got started but for the power of idealism.

Unlike the Jewish workers, the German workers were socialists when they came here. They were driven to this country by Bismarck's persecution of socialists in Germany. They built socialist unions in this country. Why did they drift away from socialist unionism? In this connection, it may also be asked, Why did all trade union movements go under and the American Federation of Labor alone survive? It must be that, whether right or wrong, the American Federation of Labor position is more representative of the sentiments of the American workers than were those of the other movements. How do those positions contrast?

The Knights of Labor was centralized; the American Federation of Labor is federative. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was socialist; the American Federation of Labor, non-socialist. The Industrial Workers of the World was for industrial unionism; the American Federation of Labor, for craft unionism. Since the American Federation of Labor has held the field against all other movements for more than a half

century it must be assumed that the workers have favored the American Federation of Labor position in each instance: federation as against centralization; non-socialism as against socialism, and craft unionism as against industrial unionism. As those are the positions of the same body—the American Federation of Labor—they must have one common denominator. Traced to its logical conclusion the underlying philosophy of all of those American Federation of Labor positions is *individualism*. The so-called American philosophy of individualism dominates the labor movement. That is, individualism to the extent that it may be manifested in collective action. Craft unionism is indeed a form of individualism.

That, then, is the level to which all American trade unionism has gravitated, socialist and non-socialist. There is no other explanation. There are a few exceptions. But, as usual, exceptions prove the rule.

In view of this situation one must accept the conclusion that hope does not lie in artificially creating a higher level for the trade union movement, because that level will remain unoccupied, but in elevating the existing level of this movement. That is a colossal task, but there is no other way. This leads us directly to the problem of workers' education.

I shall not discuss this problem here; that would take us too far afield. But I deem it appropriate to say at this point a word about the question of labor movement leadership, as it is inseparable from labor movement education.

Labor Leadership

Leadership in a popular movement, the labor movement in particular, can come only from within. The leader must reflect the sentiments of the rank and file, or he will have no followers. Can a radical keep himself in office in a reactionary organization, or a reactionary, in a radical organization? That would be impossible for any length of time. The leader is, as a general rule, the spokesman of like-minded people. As I stated elsewhere, the leader is like the highest drop of water that is sent up by a surging wave. Without the living wave

there can be no highest drop. The more powerful the wave the higher the position attained by the tiny bit of water. The leader of a movement is the human drop elevated by the wave of which he is a part. But while the inanimate bit of water returns to the wave and is lost in it, the animate one, the leader of men, is, by virtue of his elevated position, able to exercise his own influence, to make his own contribution. It is clear that without the active human mass there can be no leader. The leader will seek to stay close to the masses in order to be able to move them forward.

Unfortunately, leadership is but too frequently characterized by the following story. A politician was entertaining friends at the bar when a parade passed by. The politician pushed away his glass and called out to his friends: "I must follow them; I am their leader." Sometimes, also, what is called *leadership* is no more than *bossism*. In the labor movement, bossism works greater harm than elsewhere. True leadership flows from the masses. The higher the collective intelligence of the masses, the higher the quality of the individual leader.

This brief discussion should be enough to show that it is not the labor leader that determines the character of the labor movement, but it is the character of the labor movement rank and file that is reflected in the conduct of the leader. I leave out of present consideration the "labor leader" that is controlled by employers' shekels, and the one that is influenced by "recognition" and flattery from the ruling class.

It is clear to me that the hope of the labor movement is not in persuading the leaders, but in educating the masses. The leaders, who always hold their ears to the ground, do what they feel that the masses can make them do, or there will be other leaders. I therefore attach the utmost importance to labor education. Leaders may help and leaders may obstruct. An enlightened rank and file will overcome obstruction and enforce its will. At the present stage of the trade union movement one can write no manual for labor education. Each union, or group of unions, must deal with this problem in its own way.

The American labor movement has brought forth three big

figures. Daniel De Leon, Eugene Victor Debs and Samuel Gompers.

De Leon was one of the few persons in this country who understood Marx well. He also understood American capitalism well. De Leon was a revolutionist, but he rejected entirely the use of violence as a revolutionary method, except in countries like Czaristic Russia, where civilized methods were not possible. The opposition to him was due to the fact that he was "too revolutionary" and "too uncompromising." His repudiation of violence is particularly interesting at this time because violence is mistakenly called by some a revolutionary policy. According to De Leon, a revolutionist is he who strives to replace capitalism with socialism, to substitute the cooperative industrial commonwealth for the capitalist order, in which commonwealth wage workers are not exploited for private profit.

Debs was a charming personality in the parlor and on the platform. He raised his voice against the war and was sent to the Leavenworth Penitentiary. Many others said what Debs said and were punished as he was. But it was Debs whom people saw and heard. His punishment aroused public interest. That was Debs' service to the labor movement. He popularized socialism more than anyone else. Like De Leon, Debs, too, was opposed to the use of violence, though he was a seething revolutionist.

Gompers was eloquent. His eloquence was different from De Leon's and Debs'. He did not concern himself with opposing or promoting social orders. He fought De Leon and Debs. He concerned himself with the most elementary immediate problems and approached them opportunistically. He challenged the sweatshop, but not capitalism. He attacked the exploitation of labor, but not the private profit system.

Of the three, Gompers came nearest to the formulation of the sentiments of the American workers. In this sense, he—not De Leon or Debs—was the leader of labor. De Leon was enlightening, Debs was inspiring, but they were close only to the smallest groups in the labor movement, whereas Gompers was

close to the large mass. He gave them what they wished to get. Neither De Leon nor Debs was able to take the workers away from Gompers. Only if the workers had accepted a new point of view would they have had a new leader. But then the old leader would most likely have accepted their new viewpoint.

Vital Labor Movement Issues A thought which came to me while I was at the American Federation of Labor 1934 convention in San Francisco is pertinent to the present discussion.

Occupying a delegate seat in an American Federation of Labor convention for the first time after more than four decades of conflict with American Federation of Labor unionism is an occasion for mental stock-taking. Here is one item.

The American trade union movement, as an enduring institution, dates back to the time immediately following the Civil War. The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869, was built up in the 70's. It was a secret order. At the beginning, even its name did not appear in print. Uriah S. Stephens, its founder, thought that secrecy would make it impossible for the employers to know when the organization was weak or strong. The order was highly centralized. A member was affiliated with the order direct. The central administration was supreme. The order admitted to membership skilled and unskilled workers. It favored political action. It was also international; it had branches in several European countries.

In the 80's the American Federation of Labor arose to challenge the Knights of Labor. The American Federation of Labor established itself as an open organization, autonomous and federative. The individual worker, unless he is a member of a federal local, is not a member of the American Federation of Labor, but of the international union.* The international, not the individual, is a member of the American Federation of Labor. The international, not the individual, pays dues to the Federation. The Federation has, at present, no affiliation with

* An international is an organization with local unions in the United States and Canada.

European labor movements, except that it exchanges fraternal delegates with the British Trade Union Congress.

In 1895 the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was set up against both the Knights and the Federation. The Alliance was an avowed socialist body for skilled and unskilled workers. It advocated independent political action by labor through the Socialist Labor party.

In 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World was organized. It absorbed the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Its message to the American workers was that of industrial unionism. It came to challenge the Federation. The Industrial Workers of the World met with an enthusiastic mass response. Though the subsequent career of the Industrial Workers of the World was a disillusionment, the issue of industrial unionism was kept alive in the American labor movement until the war came.

Thus we see that in the period between the Civil War and the World War something happened in the labor movement in each decade to stir it intellectually. Irrespective of the comparative merits of secret and open unions, centralization and federation, craft unionism and industrial unionism, they involved labor movement philosophies and principles. During the World War, of course, all thinking stopped. The government did the thinking for the people. Thinking that did not conform to "national defense" resulted in a trip to Leavenworth. But there has been no new labor movement thought advanced since the war. We have come to an intellectual standstill. Oh, yes! Something new has come—the company union. Company unionism has developed much more rapidly than legitimate unionism.

Vertical unionism and horizontal unionism are more acceptable terms to those who are unable to utter the words "industrial unionism" and "craft unionism." True industrial unionism means much more than the form of organization. It stands also for a positive labor movement philosophy and ultimate aim. Vertical unionism is concerned with the form of labor organization only and not at all with its soul.

What are the philosophy and the ultimate goal of industrial unionism? Briefly, the recognition that a struggle is always on between the class of wage workers and the class of employers; that the workers must build up an independent power of their own class, industrially and politically, for their immediate protection and ultimate emancipation from class rule. On the industrial field the organization must not be limited to individual crafts; it must embrace all crafts in the industry.

Why has there been no trade union thinking in the past fifteen years or so? I can find only one answer: the character of present-day factionalism; the fact that post-war factionalism is different from pre-war factionalism. All pre-war factionalism was due to some genuine labor movement issue. Present-day factionalism has no such issue. Shortly after the war the amalgamation idea was presented to the labor movement. That was a diluted form of industrial unionism, and stirred up much interest. Suddenly the amalgamation movement was dropped. Factionalism from then on has been nothing more than a struggle for group power, for clique and party domination.

This kind of factionalism, which is labeled "left," has all of the vices of former factionalism—personal bitterness, character assassination, etc.—but nothing of its one great virtue, the advocacy of new labor movement principles and ideals.

In the few isolated instances in which the left factionalists succeeded in capturing a union, their conduct was never better than that of their opponents; frequently it was much worse. Of late they have returned to the orthodox policy of "boring from within" the American Federation of Labor unions.

Proceeding upon the "principle" of "all who are not with us are against us," they have attacked and abused reactionary and progressive trade unionists alike. The effect of that was to paralyze the efforts of the progressives and strengthen the hands of the reactionaries, without in any way helping the attackers. At the 1934 American Federation of Labor convention very few of the progressive trade unionists resisted the drive against the communists. It was the universal bitterness against the communists that enabled the opponents of a labor party to dis-

credit the resolutions for a labor party by uniting them with resolutions against communism. As a result, only a few of the delegates had the temerity to vote for a labor party. The labor party resolutions did not receive the votes of all labor party friends at the convention. The real demand for a labor party remained unregistered. That is as good an illustration as any of the "effectiveness" of present-day factionalism.

I say this with deep regret. The initial success of the amalgamation propaganda was an indication of the possibilities for a united campaign for progressive unionism. A number of the old-line trade union officials who are clean and decent manifested a friendly interest in that movement. Much would probably have been accomplished. At that time there seemed to be a trade union revival. The "new course" alienated all friends and nullified all progress made. The vigorous enthusiasm of the young workers who were attracted by the factionalists was used to undermine and demoralize the labor movement. Instead of helping to eradicate labor movement evils the effect of their work was to perpetuate them.

The great stock in trade of the factionalists is Soviet Russia. One may almost hear them say, "Well, we have failed; we are discredited; but look at great and powerful Soviet Russia!" As a warm friend of Soviet Russia, to whom I have given whatever help I could, I declare that the present factionalists in the American labor movement are a serious liability to her. At the beginning of the Soviet régime there was a strong pro-Soviet feeling within the trade union movement. That feeling was destroyed by the irresponsible conduct of the American factionalists. If my friendship for Russia has not diminished it is despite that conduct; it is because I do not permit the factionalists to determine my attitude towards Soviet Russia. It will be a happy day for the progressives in the American labor movement when Soviet Russia is relieved of this liability.

And let it be stated at this juncture that while I deplore the disruptive activities of the "left" factionalists I deplore no less the fact that labor movement representatives lend themselves to the present anti-"red" campaign in this country. If

that campaign succeeds, if anti-"red" legislation is enacted, the labor movement will pay dearly for this hysteria.

A Brief Review

I am a Socialist, my gaze is fixed firmly upon socialism as the ultimate goal of the labor movement. I see no other hope. I have received my labor movement schooling in the Socialist Labor party, under the rigid schoolmastership of Daniel De Leon. For a quarter of a century I served that party as a private in the ranks, as speaker and as editor. In 1917, three years after De Leon's death, I was expelled from the party because of a comradely letter which I had written to Algernon Lee of the Socialist party in reply to a similar comradely letter from him. That was a long looked-for occasion. The true reason for my expulsion was, as already stated, my advocacy of unity with the Socialist party. That was heresy. I have joined neither the Socialist party nor the Communist party. I am active in the trade union movement because of my socialist convictions. In the early years I shared the general belief that the onward march of the labor movement was to be one of constant and uninterrupted progress, not to be checked by anything. It was almost a matter of mathematics. I joined the movement in 1890, one year after the rebirth of the international labor movement at the Paris Congress in 1889. That congress marked the end of the reaction which had followed the Paris Commune tragedy of 1871. That was also at the end of Bismarck's anti-socialist régime in Germany. For twenty-five years, from 1889 until 1914, when the World War began, there was indeed continuous progress. The trade union movement and the socialist movement grew. The number of socialist members of legislative bodies increased. A great socialist literature was built up, particularly in Germany. It was difficult not to believe that labor and socialist progress could not be stopped, and that socialism was realizable in our time. In this country, too, the socialist movement seemed most hopeful.

While that was true generally, it was not true of the party

of which I was a member. The formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in 1895 led to the split of 1899 and wrecked the party. The Socialist Labor party is still carrying on socialist educational work but is without influence upon the labor movement.

It was in that split that I was taken from the shop to the editorial rooms. On the day after the split, all editors of the *Abend-Blatt* left their posts. A new staff had to be organized hastily. The party demanded that I join the staff. The only known qualification I had for editorial work was my style of writing the minutes of the association that published the weekly *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (founded in 1890) and the daily *Abend-Blatt* (founded in 1894). I was secretary of the association. I accepted the assignment as an emergency matter, and as a temporary one. I acted as assistant first to one new editor, a well-known contributor to Kautsky's *Neue Zeit* in Germany, and then to another, a recent graduate from Columbia University. Both editors deserted us after a short stay. The fight was too hot for them. I was compelled to assume full charge of the paper in the most critical period of its life.

Struggling against terrific odds, and at serious personal sacrifice to themselves, a small but loyal group of wage workers continued to publish the paper from 1899 until 1902. As I write these lines I think with admiration of those young men, whose names very few remember. They never quit until it was impossible to go on. That was a brave fight. That was a difficult and trying time, but one of purest idealism. We lost because the party was losing and going down. Our defeat was painful but honorable.

When the *Abend-Blatt* was discontinued the field remained free for the Jewish *Forward*. That paper had been founded in 1897, as a result of a split in the Jewish labor movement. Its existence in those years was a precarious one.

When I was nominated for Congress in 1904 the Socialist Labor party comrades undertook the publication of a weekly campaign paper, *Der Arbeiter*. It was intended to continue for

the duration of the campaign, but it went on until 1911, which was hardly short of a miracle.

In 1905 enrolled in the School of Political Science of Columbia University. I attended lectures during 1905–1907 and that served to organize and amplify the economic knowledge which I had absorbed in the course of the years.

After the *Arbeiter* went down I obtained a position as floorwalker and had the opportunity to see the slavery of the department store workers at close range.

When I came to the office one morning the head floorwalker told me to take charge of a department in the basement. To be transferred from the main floor to the basement did not seem very encouraging. I said nothing. But my eyes probably spoke. The head floorwalker explained that the floorwalker in the basement was having a great deal of trouble with the help and the girls were threatening to quit. The store did not want a number of trained salesgirls to leave at that time of the year, the Christmas holiday season. As I was getting along very well with the sales persons in my department he wanted me to establish order in the basement. The objectionable floorwalker was probably sent to my department. The "demotion" did not look so bad then.

In my new department I found that the underpaid and overworked girls had been tyrannized by the former floorwalker until they could stand it no longer. I gave the girls an absolutely free hand on their pledge to make good. The office knew nothing of the secret pact. Such an arrangement would have been considered by them as an irresponsible abandonment of all discipline, probably a capital offense. But the office did know that I obtained the best results.

The basement had a number of departments, including a miniature menagerie. The air at this low level was so bad that on one occasion a young salesgirl, whose post was near the menagerie, fainted away. The floorwalker was required to send a report to the office at the end of each day. In my daily reports I pleaded for the installation of electric fans for the girls. My pleas made no impression. I doubt whether the reports were

ever read at the office. One morning I saw a large electric fan near the place occupied by the girl who had fainted and I was overjoyed. At last my prayer was answered. But when the fan was set in motion I realized that it had been installed for the benefit of a little monkey that was showing signs of illness because of the foul air. The salesgirls didn't matter. They were not monkeys to be sold to rich ladies. My prayers were of no help to the fainting girl.

Duty Calls Again

While I was in the department store a committee from the neckwear workers' union called on me several times in the department, and met me a number of times outside of the store. An officer of that union, they told me, had been caught stealing money; he was also guilty of other misconduct, and was removed from office. The committee urged me to take that officer's place in the union.

I explained to the committee that I had every personal reason to accept the invitation. Being ostracized by the labor movement because my party had lost out in the factional struggle, I was eager to become active again. Yet I must decline. I was afraid that the boycott against me as a Socialist Labor party man would embarrass the union. Also, I was most reluctant to take a salaried position in a trade union. The committee argued over and over again that the union must have some one whom the members would trust. That was very flattering, but I did not take the office.

During the 1913 clothing workers' strike in New York I was called several times to address strike meetings. De Leon, too, was called to speak at those meetings.*

* That must have been a source of comfort to the old man, a year before his death, considering his isolation, and his painful disillusionment. De Leon realized his errors. And the people whom he had built up and elevated in the party deserted and abused him cruelly when he began to look like a loser. Some time after I accepted the secretaryship of the New York clothing workers' organization I visited De Leon at his office. He was a depressed and lonely man. Speaking of my new activities, he said to me: "I just want to know one thing—do you feel that the results justify your having taken the

When the clothing workers' strike was over a committee came to ask me to take the secretaryship of the coatmakers' organization. They, like the neckwear workers, urged the need of a person that had the confidence of the people.

As stated, the union experiences of the workers in the men's clothing industry were very much like those of the ladies' garment workers. For many years the unions were small, weak and without influence. The 1913 strike in New York, though not a complete success in its settlement terms, resulted in the building up of a very large organization. The problem was one of consolidating the organization and holding the members. The ineffectiveness of the form of organization may be judged from the fact that there were thirteen local unions in the coatmaking branch alone. The organization had to be solidified. It was important to select as secretary one who could command the confidence of the members. Otherwise, the organization might as well have been abandoned right there and then.

The position of the men's clothing workers with respect to the international organization in their industry was entirely different from that of their fellow-workers in the ladies' garment industry, with respect to the latter's international.

The United Garment Workers of America was organized in 1891, in opposition to the clothing workers' national trade assembly of the Knights of Labor. For some years the cloakmakers were members of the United. In 1900 the cloakmakers formed their own organization, the International Ladies' Gar-

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office?" When I answered in the affirmative, he said: "That's enough for me; I am satisfied." De Leon made every possible effort to reunite the socialist movement. He would have given his life to bring that about. But the Socialist party leaders were afraid of him. Victor Berger told me many years later that he was afraid that De Leon would capture and break the Socialist party if he were allowed to come in. He was wrong, and I told him so. Berger was deeply interested in what I told him. De Leon of the unity period was not the De Leon of 1899. In 1899 both he and his opponents were convinced that a split in the party was desirable and they got it. The older De Leon knew better. He was sincere in working for socialist unity. I know whereof I speak. I have always believed that his failure hastened his death. De Leon was a great socialist, but a poor psychologist, for which fault both he and the movement paid dearly.

ment Workers' Union, and obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labor, giving them jurisdiction of the ladies' garment industry. The United Garment Workers of America retained jurisdiction of the men's clothing industry. But while the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was in closest relationship with its local unions, the United Garment Workers of America was close only to the cutters' locals. Attention was also given to the overall workers' locals to the extent that the union label was involved. The tailors, the overwhelming majority of the clothing workers, were disregarded.

The union label was an enormous source of income to the United Garment Workers. The tailors charged that it was sold to employers without regard to working conditions, and they had a deep-seated hatred for the label. It was that feeling of bitterness that later kept the Amalgamated from promoting its own label.

The cutters were either Americans or Americanized immigrants. The general officers were cutters. The tailors were practically all immigrants. There was a wide chasm between the general officers and the members in the tailoring branches. Many strikes were carried on without the participation of the general officers. A settlement made by the general officers in the 1913 strike in New York was repudiated by the strikers, and a new settlement was made. Such was the situation in New York when the strike was over, with a very large membership newly enrolled in the union. The coatmaker locals alone had registered 24,000 members. The organization had to be rescued from imminent collapse. There was absolute antagonism to any local officer who was in any way associated with the general office.

When the committee invited me to accept the secretaryship of the New York organization I related to them what I stated above about the neckwear workers' invitation. They met every one of my objections. They were not afraid of attacks on the union because of factional antagonism in certain quarters; the union was too strong to be attacked by them. Again they urged the vital matter of the people's confidence. "If all honest

persons should decline to take office in a union the offices must go to dishonest persons."

I was still unwilling to accept the nomination but agreed to help bring all the coatmaker locals into a centralized Joint Board. The other branches of the industry were not prepared to go along. The position that I was holding at that time gave me some freedom in the use of my time. For three months I gave up my free time, particularly evenings and Sundays, and cooperated with others in the labor movement in setting up a Joint Board. Those with whom I cooperated included Morris Winchevsky, Jacob Panken, who is now a judge, and Fiorello H. La Guardia, who is now Mayor of New York. When our task was completed, the secretaryship offer was renewed. For two weeks I weighed all pros and cons and finally accepted. I stayed away from all meetings until the elections were over. When I was notified of my election, I came to the installation meeting and entered upon my new duties. In July 1913 the Joint Board of the United Brotherhood of Tailors began to function, and it functioned well. That Joint Board saved the coatmakers' organization, and it eventually led to the creation of the present New York Joint Board, which includes all clothing worker locals in the greater city.

The general officers became even more hostile, and showed it openly. They seemed to be convinced that I came not to build up the New York organization but to destroy the United Garment Workers. I found it impossible to get together with them, as a local officer with the general officers of the same organization, and talk over organization matters. I made it clear to the members that despite the attitude of the general officers I would pay full per capita to the United Garment Workers and place per capita stamps in the membership books for all dues received from the members. I would do so because that was our financial obligation to the general organization, and also because failure to use such stamps would render impossible control of the receipts from dues. Though bitter against the general officers the members agreed. I make this statement here for the following reason:

The general officers were determined to keep us out of the United Garment Workers' biennial convention, which was to be held in October, 1914, in Nashville, Tennessee. With this end in view, the auditor was sent in to audit our books. I am sure that the auditor never saw a more efficient bookkeeping system than the one in the Joint Board. Though that was a year of depression and unemployment, $30,000 was paid as per capita taxes to the general office—a stupendous sum for that time. The auditor was unable to find a single month's per capita unpaid for dues received by us. Still, the general officers sent to our local unions bills for vast sums as due them for per capita. For our special benefit the general officers evolved a beautiful theory about per capita payment. As explained to me by the auditor, we were required to pay per capita for every member whose name appeared on the books, whether he paid dues or not, so long as we did not officially suspend him. Suspending members for arrears in dues, in a seasonal industry and in a depression period, would be the surest way to suspend the union out of existence. On that basis it was easy to fabricate large bills. Those bills were accompanied with the brotherly advice that unless they were paid, our delegates would not be seated at the convention. That was a procedure never known before. But we were determined to go to the convention.

Though I was prepared to fight it out, and take the consequences if necessary, I was eager to prevent a break. I had seen too much of labor movement splits not to realize their danger. Officers of other locals, who were very close to the general office, willingly served as intermediaries. When I was informed by them that the general officers were particularly concerned about my going to the convention, I offered to stay away if given the assurance that all the other delegates from our local unions would be seated. I wanted our representatives to have an opportunity to state our case to those delegates at the convention, whose minds had been poisoned against us, and who did not know us or our grievances. We wished them to know that all we wanted was an honest-to-goodness effort to or-

ganize the clothing workers. My proposition was rejected. We went to Nashville. There we learned from the overall locals' delegates that the Jews—the Italians, Poles, Bohemians and others were Jews for this purpose—were coming to the convention in order to throw out the Gentile officers and replace them with Jews.

I continued my efforts to reach an understanding. The emissaries continued their errands. Sunday night before the opening of the convention they roused me from sleep and submitted to me the following proposition: the General Executive Board of the United Garment Workers would be enlarged by the addition of four members; all four would be taken from our ranks and I would be included. If we accepted that proposition our entire delegation would be seated, including myself. But we must promise to raise no issues at the convention. I rejected the proposition as it meant a sell-out. There was a salary going with membership of the General Executive Board. I repeated my own offer that all delegates be seated unconditionally and I withdraw. Since unconditional seating of the delegates meant an unwelcome discussion at the convention my offer was again turned down. Thus the officers' offer was rejected by us, and ours, by them. We went to the convention and were kicked out. It should be stated that the vicarious negotiations were with the impersonal "general office," not with particular officers as far as I knew.

There was an almost unbelievable situation. Whole memberships in the most important industrial centers were disfranchised. A large number of delegates were placed outside of the law. When we appealed a month later to the American Federation of Labor convention in Philadelphia we were refused a hearing. That was one instance in which the utter lack of public opinion within the labor movement was keenly felt.

Here Comes the Amalgamated

When we found ourselves outside of the convention building in Nashville we were not certain as to what we would do next. Our groups had not met before coming to the conven-

tion. We came to Nashville with no plans for a new organization. But we were firm in our determination to do something. The delegates were housed in two hotels. The general officers and the privileged delegates were in a fashionable hotel; we, the rabble, in a proletarian hotel. I was in a large room with five others and paid three dollars a night for the room. We adjourned to that hotel—Duncan House—continued the United Garment Workers' convention, elected officers and General Executive Board members, in accordance with the United Garment Workers' constitution, and left for our homes. When Sidney Hillman was nominated, and the Chicago delegation vouched for his acceptance, he was elected president unanimously. When I was nominated for the secretaryship, I declined. I felt that I had a big task in the New York organization. I was making headway and preferred to continue that work. The election of a secretary was delayed for more than an hour. In the end I yielded. That was the third time that I was thrust into positions of heavy responsibility in order to "save the situation"—when I was made editor of a daily paper, when I was drafted for the Joint Board secretaryship, and now, when the general secretaryship was forced on me. I was not sure that I was doing the proper thing, but once I agreed to take the general secretaryship, I gave myself wholeheartedly to my new duties.

If the United Garment Workers' officers had accepted my proposition, there would have been no Amalgamated. We would have kept our promise to abide by the decision of the convention. If the American Federation of Labor had given us a hearing there would have been no Amalgamated. We had offered our pledge to accept the action of the American Federation of Labor convention, if granted a hearing, and would have lived up to it. Having been refused a hearing we were compelled to organize independently. I was not eager to be in another labor movement split. The very thought of it appalled me. But when it came we went through with it without flinching. For two months we functioned as another United Garment Workers' administration. When we were enjoined by a

court order from further use of that name we adopted the present name, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, at a special convention in New York, in December, 1914.

Why was that situation forced upon us? Why did the officers of the United Garment Workers compel us to set up a new international organization in the men's clothing industry? A reading of our opponents' literature in this case will convey to one the idea that we were a gang of irresponsible "noise makers" (the phrase used) and had to be annihilated. That we were not really such an irresponsible gang of noise makers is amply shown by the Amalgamated career of more than twenty years. We were called names which were the then equivalents of present-day "Communists" and "Bolsheviks," etc. Our own literature set forth our grievances against the United Garment Workers' régime. We stated our case clearly and, I believe, convincingly.

In the increasing heat of the battle we did not, at the time, fully appreciate the most essential factor, which we can see more clearly now: the officers did not know their own members. They feared them and did not want to know them. Instead of becoming acquainted with the members they sought to get rid of them. That appeared to the officers as the easiest and safest road. That also showed that they did not understand the nature and purposes of the labor movement. Fear by trade union officers of their own members, resulting from lack of desire to know and understand them, is a much more serious matter to the labor movement than conservatism and reactionism. That, more than anything else, explains the conduct of the United Garment Workers' officers in our case.

Now that the war between the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America is over, and the two organizations are "friendly powers"; now that the *out*lawed Amalgamated has been *in*lawed and taken into the American Federation of Labor family, the question may reasonably be asked, "What would have happened if we had not been cast out by the older organization?" Perhaps we may look for light upon this small situation to an infinitely

larger one. If the South, in its eagerness to perpetuate Negro slavery, had not forced the country into the Civil War, would Negro slavery still have been with us? Most likely not. The very forces which led up to the armed conflict were making for the elimination of chattel slavery, with or without war. There would have probably been no animosity between North and South and no Negro slavery. We may go further back and ask, "If there had been no Revolutionary War would North America have been economically and socially different from what it is now?" Most likely not. The outcome of the war accelerated matters, but the economic life on this continent would have been the same without the war. Political conditions alone would have been different. There would have been a greater Canada in the British Empire.

Now, what *would* have happened if our delegates had been admitted to the United Garment Workers' convention in 1914, and given an opportunity to work out their problems within the old organizations? Probably this:

The United would have adapted itself to the needs of the very same people whom the Amalgamated has organized because the United was not interested in them, or was afraid of them. Those workers would have been members of the United now. I failed in my efforts to get the officers of the United to understand us and deal with us while we were still members of the United, but after a war of two decades representatives of the United meet now with representatives of the Amalgamated as spokesmen for two "sovereign powers" in neighborly dominions. The officers of the United were not on speaking terms with us when we were with them in one organization; they are on speaking terms with us now as members of another organization. If the officers of the United had listened to reason and prevented the split, all of the organized clothing workers would have been in one union now instead of in two. And the split was preventable. Of that I am certain.

This brings me back to the statement made above that the Amalgamated was not, strictly speaking, a dual union.

The Amalgamated members did not secede from the United

Garment Workers or the American Federation of Labor. As already explained, they were forced out. The Amalgamated, as an international union, was not built by forming new local unions in opposition to existing local unions of the United. But existing locals of the United decided to recognize the new administration (Hillman as president and Schlossberg as secretary) of the United, and later the Amalgamated. The new local unions that were subsequently formed by the Amalgamated were formed for newly organized workers, not in opposition to the old United locals. Thus, if the Amalgamated was a dual union before its admission into the American Federation of Labor it was only technically so, not actually. The Amalgamated and the United are occupying the same positions in the clothing industry, now that they are both in the American Federation of Labor, as they occupied when the United alone was in the American Federation of Labor and the Amalgamated was independent. But though continuing its separate existence, and not merging with the United, the Amalgamated is not regarded now as a dual union. This is conclusive proof that the dual union character of the Amalgamated before affiliation with the American Federation of Labor was only nominal and not real.

There was an impression with many in the labor movement that the Amalgamated would lead a general movement against the American Federation of Labor, organize a rival national body. The officers of the Amalgamated never entertained such an idea. At the second Amalgamated convention, in Rochester, N. Y., in 1916, a motion to initiate such a movement was ruled out of order. The matter was never brought up again.

My own trade union principles and attitudes have always differed from those of the American Federation of Labor, but since the failure of the Industrial Workers of the World, I have been convinced of the futility of any opposition movement to the American Federation of Labor. There must be one united trade union movement. We, of the Amalgamated, consistently sought to make friends in the general trade union movement. And while the American Federation of Labor was

fighting us the number of our friends within the American Federation of Labor was steadily growing. We always extended help to the general labor movement; we never asked for help of them.

In 1919 John Fitzpatrick, President of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and chairman of the national committee for the striking steel workers, and William Z. Foster, secretary of that committee, asked us for help. We gave them $100,000. When I handed the check for that sum to Fitzpatrick at a mass meeting at the old Madison Square Garden in New York, I experienced a thrill which truly comes once in a lifetime. As far as I know, that was the largest single financial contribution ever given by one group of workers to another. One may be pardoned for his pride in having his signature authenticate such a document and authorize the bank to pay out that stupendous sum of money to striking workers. The fact that that fabulous sum was collected among members of one labor organization, sweatshop workers of yesterday, only shows what poor wage workers can do when united. We gave donations in smaller, but nevertheless substantial, sums on many other occasions.

I was eager to see the Amalgamated in the American Federation of Labor as a matter of principle, and as a matter of expediency. As a matter of principle, because a trade union, particularly an important one like the Amalgamated, should be on speaking terms with the official labor movement. As a matter of expediency, because the "outlawing" attitude of the American Federation of Labor towards the Amalgamated was helpful to the anti-union employers and seriously hindered us in our work. But there seemed to be no prospect of ever getting into the American Federation of Labor. Friends of the Amalgamated wanted us there. But the United was able to block every move towards that end. The United was aided by the natural reluctance of the American Federation of Labor to admit that a "dual union" had won out. Officially the Amalgamated did not exist. The American Federation of Labor deprived itself of all the benefit of the prestige which the great achievements of the Amalgamated would have given the offi-

cial labor movement if the Amalgamated were a part of it. As it was, people were getting accustomed to the idea that much may be achieved outside of the American Federation of Labor and that was no advantage to the latter. There was a trade union, arousing national and international interest by its success, and the official labor movement "didn't know it." That did not look very well when we presented our $100,000 check for the steel workers. The check was made out to the order of Frank Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. It was accepted, and the amount transmitted to the steel strike committee. It was easy to characterize the "non-recognition" attitude to the detriment of the American Federation of Labor. But I could never think of it without a heartache. While the Federation "did not recognize" my organization, I could not help recognizing the Federation. I was unable to close my mind to the fact that the American Federation of Labor is the American labor movement, and the labor movement is my movement. The non-recognition attitude could not but be injurious to the movement.

As stated, there seemed to be no hope of the Amalgamated ever being admitted into the American Federation of Labor. But it was admitted in October, 1933. The welcome change from hostility to friendship came under unusual circumstances. I had hoped for the admission of the Amalgamated on its own labor movement merits, as a labor union which has functioned successfully for two decades and built up a powerful labor movement in its industry. But the Amalgamated was accepted by the American Federation of Labor because of certain developments due to the NRA situation. That gave the Amalgamated friends within the Federation their long-sought opportunity to open the Federation's gate to us. We were glad to go in. At last we are within the official labor movement instead of outside of it.

NRA and Labor At this point it may be appropriate to say a few words about the American Federation of Labor and the NRA. When the government's

recovery program was made known the Federation gave its fullest support and encouragement to the government. But the government did not reciprocate. At a conference of international officers in Washington General Johnson, after addressing the conference, heard some plain talk from those present. Matters went from bad to worse and almost reached a breaking point at the time of the Federation convention, in October, 1934. The already strained situation was seriously aggravated by the appointment of a well-known foe of labor as chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Board, which was created by the president after Johnson's resignation as National Recovery Administrator. That individual is an open-shop employer in the notoriously sweated and highly prosperous cigarette industry, which was then still without a code because of his powerful influence in Washington.

That was my first experience as a delegate to an American Federation of Labor convention. I followed the proceedings with intense interest and tried to understand them objectively.

When I came into the large auditorium where the sessions were held I saw portraits of three presidents over the speaker's platform. One was a mammoth portrait of President Roosevelt. On the sides of Roosevelt's picture were small likenesses of Samuel Gompers and William Green. From the relative dimensions of the portraits as guiding symbols one would judge that the American Federation of Labor was completely "sold" to the Federal Administration, which meant in this case the NRA. If anyone approached the convention in that light he must have been deeply shocked when he heard the bitter attacks upon the NRA. I doubt whether any utterance at the convention was applauded more spontaneously and heartily than attacks upon the National Recovery Administration.

Viewing the convention from that angle, and disregarding the portraits, one would have been led to expect the American Federation of Labor to demand that the entire National Recovery structure be scrapped. But the American Federation of Labor would not demand that, and would oppose any such action. It stood loyally by Roosevelt and the NRA. To the

uninitiated that may have been confusing. But the situation was quite clear. The American Federation of Labor denounced the serious evils flowing from the control of the NRA by the employing class but refused to denounce the NRA. It only wanted a New Deal for the NRA.

Run by capitalist private profit interests the economic machinery suffers a breakdown every now and then. The last previous collapse was forty years ago. It was followed by several economic dislocations of short duration. When the present catastrophe occurred capitalism became desperate. It pleaded with the government to rescue it. The NRA experiment was undertaken. It was received with universal acclaim. Capitalism needed the government's help and it "cooperated." But when it was pulled out of the ditch capitalism was again the master. Whenever the government took itself too seriously in this experiment, capitalism showed who was boss. We have it on the authority of Francis Biddle, Chairman of the Labor Relations Board, that the enforcement of Section 7-A has been virtually suspended. The courts were willing to send to jail the penniless proprietor of a dry-cleaning store, but they balked when big business was involved. A series of unfavorable decisions on the constitutionality of the labor provisions of the Recovery Act came in rapid succession.

The beneficiaries of the present system "point with pride" to the increasing profits of the corporations as proof of national recovery. But workers are charged with blocking recovery if they ask for a slight improvement in their earnings. The NRA Research and Planning Division revealed the very interesting fact that while the payrolls in December, 1934, were only sixty per cent of the aggregate in 1926, the dividend and interest payments made by corporations were one hundred and fifty per cent of the 1926 total.

Well-organized workers were able to derive advantages from the Recovery Act. The strong unions obtained better labor provisions for the codes in their industries and used their own power to enforce those provisions. That is added proof of the fact that labor's hope lies only in its own united power.

The 1934 elections were hailed as a popular approval of the New Deal. But that approval also went to the state governors who had sent troops to shoot strikers.

Labor has serious grievances against the administration. But have we really a right to expect the administration to act differently? Roosevelt was not elected as a labor president. He was elected on the ticket of the Democratic party, which is one of the two parties of the employing class. It was from this party that Roosevelt has received his mandate. He is a part of it, and not apart from it. With his best intentions for labor he is unable to raise himself above his own class or party and place himself outside of them. It is still true that a man cannot serve two masters. This holds good for representatives of capital as well as for representatives of labor. The international labor movement has denounced Ramsay MacDonald as a traitor to labor, not because he acted against the interests of labor, but because he did so while holding a mandate from labor. He, too, could not serve two masters. When he chose to serve capital he could do so only by betraying labor. If he were, like Baldwin, an old Tory, his conduct would not have constituted treason to labor.

No master should expect to be served by another's servant. Labor must have its own political service, its own political party, a labor party, or, as it is often called, a farmer-labor party. This issue is as old as the class struggle, but it is more urgent now than ever before. The American labor movement has paid dearly for its refusal to organize an independent party of labor. The opponents of a labor party sometimes point to the fascist countries in Europe as proof of the futility of a labor party. It is true that fascism has destroyed the labor parties in those countries. But fascism has also destroyed the trade union movements. Still, we do not accept that as proof of the uselessness of trade unionism. We have not abandoned our efforts to organize workers into unions. At the present time we are still very far from a labor party in the United States. That is perhaps all the more reason for educating the masses upon the need for such a party.

Why a Labor Party? The conditions which call for a trade union also call for a labor party. Those conditions arise from the industrial relations between the employers and the wage workers. For the purpose of the present discussion it is not necessary to examine those relations. Our own daily experiences, and the industrial history of our country and others, prove conclusively that the relations are those of opposing parties. The ever-raging conflict between profits and wages dominates our social order. The need for both the trade union and the labor party flows from that conflict. But there is a trade union and there is no labor party. The reason is that the trade union is set up against a visible adversary, the immediate employer, who is present in the flesh, and because of labor conditions which prevail in his own plant and are subject to his own will. A labor party takes the field not against an individual employer, but against the class of employers; not against a particular case of exploitation, but against the system of human exploitation. That looks very much like an abstraction. The enemy seems intangible. The situation seems complicated; the visibility is blurred.

The capital-labor conflict is one of economic interests. But on the economic field, where the struggle of the classes originates, the trade union is not in combat with the economic system, the cause of the class struggle, but with the individual employer. The union's quarrel is with the man that determines the size of the pay envelope and not with the social scheme under which the market proceeds of a product of labor are divided into profits and wages. The union does not aim to eliminate an employer, a profit maker. His elimination would make no difference to the private profit system. The union desires that the employer stay in business and employ its members. All that the union asks of the employer is an improvement in the conditions under which his employees are to continue to serve him. A little more money, a little more leisure, recognition of the union—that is all there is to any strike. The individual employer is regarded as an enemy only when there is a clash over labor conditions. When a particular

dispute between two warring parties is closed the enemies—employer and workers—become friends again, until the next dispute, which is expected to yield a similar result.

The political party, as stated, faces the social order, it deals with the scheme of society rather than with the individual employer. An employer who may be personally friendly to labor must be its antagonist in the economic struggle; he must "play the game according to the rules" if he is to hold his position among his competitors; in the political struggle he may join the forces of labor against the order of society without jeopardizing his economic status. In the economic sphere, where the interests of employers and employees always clash, the disputes are "personal" and temporary, though constantly recurring, and there is peace between disputes. In the political sphere the war is impersonal and constant. Thus, each one of these two parts of the labor movement has its distinct functions. One cannot do the job of the other, but both must cooperate.

The logical objective of a labor party should be the substitution of a cooperative industrial society, without exploitation of labor, for our present society, which is based upon such exploitation. At our present state of the labor movement it is conceivable that a labor party may be without such ultimate objective and still perform a necessary task.

There is the anti-labor injunction as one illustration. In another part of this book this problem is discussed. From that discussion it is clear that the trade union is unable to fight the injunction. The labor party alone can fight for the abolition of the injunction institution. While the union is concerned with *an* injunction the labor party attacks *the* injunction.

This illustration should be helpful in understanding the difference in the tasks and functions of the two sections of the labor movement, and how one complements the other. The union furnishes the numerical strength of the labor party—the voters to elect legislators and public officials; the labor party gives political service to the trade union. Both parts of the movement are essential to its success. Where one is missing

the movement is seriously handicapped. The American labor movement is suffering severely from such handicap.

The opposition to an independent political party of labor may be summed up under three heads: 1) the "labor politician," the trafficker in the "labor vote"; 2) "there are no classes in the United States" and, therefore, no room for a labor party; workers should vote as all other citizens do; 3) labor must be non-partisan: reward friends and punish enemies.

Opposition One may be dismissed without serious discussion. The "labor politician" will be for a labor party if and when such a party should become strong enough to distribute patronage and insure a career.

If Opposition Two is right and "there are no classes," why does the phrase "capital and labor" occur so frequently in our economic discussions? Surely "capital" and "labor" cannot be synonymous. Surely the striking textile workers, who were killed by state troops, and the textile employers, in whose interests the killing was done, cannot be in the same class. It is deceiving ourselves, where the purpose is not to deceive others, to say that there are no classes in the United States at this time, when more than twenty million Americans are on the public relief rolls because those who own the jobs would not employ the idle who are eager to work. What do such terms as "labor market," and "collective labor agreements" mean if not indicating the existence of a distinct economic class, a working class? "Labor" and "capital" are not names of callings or professions; they are designations of economic and social classifications. Yes, there are economic and social classes in the United States.

And how do "all other citizens" vote? They are not all in one party. The electorate is sharply divided between the two large capitalist parties. The legislative and executive branches of the government take official cognizance of this party division by giving to both parties representation in committees—majority representation to the larger party and minority representation to the smaller one. Why are "all other citizens" divided politically? Political parties do not drop from the clouds. They are voluntary associations of citizens. There must

be reasons for their existence. Those parties have histories which tell us that they arose out of conflicts of material interests among the citizens. That is why we have more than one party. How can a substantial group of citizens give political expression to their common material interests except through a political party? If the founders of the Democratic and Republican parties had been guided by the philosophy of "voting as all others do" there would have been no political parties in this country. No, it is not contrary to good citizenship to say, "We will not vote as others do; we will vote as our interests require of us."

Practically all political activities deal with economic problems—the tariff, labor legislation, taxes, public works, recovery measures, etc. When such items are checked off there is very little left of a legislative program that is purely political. The economic interests of the workers are *not* identical with those of the employers. The workers may and must have their own political party as the employers have theirs.

While Opposition Two refuses to have any political attitude and tells the workers to be political nobodies, Opposition Three assumes a definite attitude, which is non-partisan, or bi-partisan —rewarding friends and punishing enemies. That is the official political position of the American Federation of Labor, and is essentially the same policy of secrecy in politics that the Knights of Labor followed in economics. The Knights of Labor thought that secrecy would make it impossible for the employers to know when the organization was weak. Similarly the non-partisan political policy is expected to conceal the political weakness of labor. At the beginning, the old party politicians had faith in the labor vote myth. They know better now. You cannot have a "labor vote" when workers are told that they must vote as "all other citizens" do, and you can have no labor vote without a labor party.

If it is possible to "reward friends" who are on the outside, why can't we have our own friends, in our own party, under our own control and command, instead of begging for friendship in the enemy's camp? If labor legislation is worth begging

for why is it not worth fighting for? And what is our standard for "friendship"? Suppose a senator or a congressman votes for Roosevelt's $50 a month wage proposal and also for an anti-injunction law. Shall we punish him as an enemy or reward him as a friend? Suppose also that one is an open shop and company union employer but votes for the child labor amendment, which is not inconceivable; is he a friend or an enemy? And what are we to do with the state governor who sends troops against strikers and shouts "hurrah" for the New Deal—should labor vote for him or against him? One who was elected on a labor party ticket is pledged to the entire labor party program. There is an unmistakable standard by which to judge his conduct.

If we are to refuse to organize a labor party because some old party legislators or public officials are friendly to labor, and there are such, why should we not likewise refuse to organize workers in an industrial plant whose owner is friendly to labor? There are such, too. We seek to organize into unions all workers, because we realize the need of a strong labor movement. A labor party must be organized for the same reason. The vital matter is not to have individual friends in the enemy's camp but to have our own camp and our own power.

For the benefit of those who are too impatient to wait for a labor party to come into governmental power and get results, it may be confidently stated that a growing labor party will achieve results even before it becomes a victorious party. We know that an employer grants concessions to his employees in order to keep them from joining a trade union which is showing signs of success. In the same manner the capitalist politicians will hasten to hand out sops to the workers in the hope of keeping them away from the growing labor party. The capitalist politicians will grant much more to the workers out of fear and respect than they do now out of pity.

Under existing labor movement conditions one cannot expect an American labor party to be an out and out socialist party, though the socialist movement should be a part of it. But a labor party must not be a so-called third (capitalist)

party; nor a "progressive" (capitalist) party, nor a party built around the name of a prominent politician. Neither a "third" party nor a "progressive" party nor a "dynastic" party will build up a *political power of labor*. And that is the all important thing—the power of organized labor. Political action by labor which is not calculated to achieve that aim is worthless—is the same as the present worthless political policy of labor, or lack of policy.

At the present time we are very far from an American labor party. The New Deal propaganda has brought the workers closer to the dominating party. But we live in a high speed age. A change may come sooner than expected. There is disillusionment. That may be followed by realignment. At such a time enlightenment is particularly essential. It was not long after Garrison, leader of the Abolitionists, was mobbed in Boston, that chattel slavery was abolished in the United States. If a labor party is built up for immediate purposes it will also find its ultimate ends. The logic of its own existence will take care of that.

The struggle of labor is life itself. Whenever a labor party should come it will find enough important problems for immediate action. If there were a labor party today it could build a broad enough platform for all workers to stand upon out of clear cut working class planks such as the following:

Abolition of Child Labor. We are told that child labor has already been abolished by the NIRA. It has not. Most of the child workers are not covered by the New Deal legislation. We still have much child labor. But even where child labor has been eliminated, the employers seem to be determined to bring it back. How else can we explain the stubborn opposition to the child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution? Only a party of labor could meet that opposition with a still more determined fight for the amendment.

Abolition of the anti-labor injunction. There is federal legislation modifying certain phases of the injunction. Only few anti-labor injunctions are issued by federal courts; most of them are issued by state courts, which are not bound by the

federal laws. But even an injunction under the modifying laws can be used to break strikes. The injunction evil must be abolished.

Unemployment. Present conditions call for drastic legislation in order to deal effectively with the burning problem of unemployment. A labor party will secure such legislation.

Unemployment insurance. At the time of writing all of the unemployment insurance legislation proposals are apologies for unemployment insurance. They are relief or charity measures under a new name, and throw most of the financial burden upon the workers. There is also a good deal of other badly needed social legislation, such as old age pensions and health insurance.

The Fight Against Militarism and Navalism. While the President proposes a $50 a month wage for workers on government projects he increases the budgets for the army and navy. This is a dangerous expense, because it serves to strengthen militarism and the war spirit.

These are illustrations of bona fide working class demands, upon which radical and conservative workers may unite in a political party. And so long as the capitalist régime continues there will be urgent working class problems to keep a labor party busy.

If the labor party should lead large numbers of workers to break their habits of voting for the capitalist parties, and vote instead for an outspoken labor party, it will have accomplished a revolution in American politics, even though the labor party is not revolutionary.

American political life today is empty and uninspiring. Whatever the differences may have been between the Republican and the Democratic parties in the past, whatever their presumed differences may be, they are in fact very much alike now. American capitalism has two political parties. Despite the nerve-racking excitement during national campaigns—whose volume is great because of the size of our population—the proportion of eligible voters who actually take the trouble to vote has been declining in the past 5 to 6 decades. It is little

above sixty per cent at present. The working class voters have no choice as between the existing parties. A live labor party will vitalize American politics; give living substance to political discussion, and arouse in the masses genuine interest in our political affairs.

CONCLUSION Twenty one years ago we, the organized clothing workers, were thrown into the stream by the labor movement to swim or sink. Ten years earlier or ten years later we would have sunk: ten years earlier, because we were still lacking in self-confidence and were handicapped by factionalism; ten years later, because the fratricidal factionalism of that time made progress impossible. The Amalgamated had the good fortune to appear on the scene at a time when our section of the labor movement was practically free of factionalism. The wounds sustained in the Socialist Labor party-Socialist party battles were healing rapidly. Members of both parties cooperated enthusiastically in the building up of the union. But for that harmony in our ranks the Amalgamated would have been impossible. We did not sink; we swam; and we are still on the crest of the wave. Some people refer to us sneeringly as the "east side." This sneer is intended not only for the "radical Jews" in New York, but for all foreign born workers, Jews, Italians, Poles, etc., in all parts of the country. It is well to remember that the so-called "east side" made the Amalgamated. It included all of the pioneers who built the organization, and also the martyrs who were killed on the picket lines prior to the Amalgamated. The "east side" has eliminated the old and the new sweatshops from the industry. But for the foreign-born workers in the various clothing markets the young American generation of clothing workers would have been without protection today.

The Amalgamated had several years of internal peace and built itself up in that period. Ten years after the launching of the Amalgamated the right-left war was at its worst. In 1925 it threatened the life of the organization in New York. We survived only because of the great vitality which was stored up in

the "era of good feeling." The unity in our part of the labor movement and the eagerness to build up the organization engendered the enthusiasm that was necessary for our stupendous task. In that period, more than at any other time, I realized the danger of factionalism and the blessings of unity. That harmony has enabled us to become from an outcast Ishmael of the labor movement a helpful Joseph. It was in those early years of our career that we did some of our very best work. If we had not built so successfully at that time, when weather conditions in our zone of the labor movement were favorable, the Amalgamated would have been unable to withstand the storms of later years.

Because of our freedom from factionalism in the formative years we were animated by a spirit of high idealism. The lack of material means was more than compensated for by spiritual wealth.

The Preamble to the constitution of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was one expression of the idealism of the Amalgamated pioneers. I wrote the Preamble because I believed then, as I do now, that the labor movement must have —and it has—a philosophy, and that that philosophy should be stated. A labor movement is no accident. It results from economic conditions, from the struggle for the material interests of the workers as a class, which we frequently refer to as class interests. The labor movement is inseparable from our industrial civilization. It is caused by something and it strives for something. There is a social philosophy which explains the why and the wherefore of this phenomenon in modern life. The workers should know and understand this philosophy. The Preamble is an attempt to state it in very general terms. If I were to write it again I would make the same formulation of the labor movement philosophy. To the builders of the Amalgamated the Preamble was at once an interpretation of their ultimate hopes and an encouragement in their immediate task. To me it is no less a living document today than it was when I wrote it. It should be a living document to all American workers. Since the world war the workers have been so trag-

ically disillusioned by "friends" and betrayed by "leaders," that they can no longer look to the kindness and benevolence of individuals. The workers can depend upon their own organized power only. The working class, being compelled to work out its own salvation, must understand the significance of its own movement. This is the message of the Preamble.

Internationalism added colorfulness to the Amalgamated. Any division in the ranks of the workers is dangerous. Division along lines of nationalities is the greatest danger of all, as that involves differences in religion, language and deep-rooted habits and attitudes. Employers are quick to utilize those differences in order to keep the workers divided. The clothing workers came from many nationalities, which made division among them easy. But we succeeded in uniting them all. Without the solidarity and united action of the Italians, Jews, Bohemians, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, French-Canadians and others we would have been unable to make the history we did.

One of our first acts after Nashville was the writing of a democratic constitution. We provided for the election of General Officers and General Executive Board members by a referendum vote of the general membership. The results of the elections by referendum have probably been no different from what they would have been if held by conventions, but the spirit which called for the democratic method was in itself a constructive force. I am a firm believer in democracy in the labor movement and in society generally. Democracy is not proof against demagoguery. Demagogues have used democracy for their own purposes and will continue to use it. But it is the only method by which the people can develop a sense of responsibility and self-confidence. The labor movement needs both.

When America entered the war the members of the Amalgamated, like others, were divided in their views. There were pros and cons. I was with the latter. I cherish international brotherhood and peace among the peoples of the world. There can be no successful labor movement in an atmosphere of international hatred. Nations have no cause for fighting and

never do fight, except as they are forced to do so by their rulers. I abhor violence and bloodshed. No one has a moral right to destroy human life; not even the State. I shrink from war as from physical and moral mass murder. This may be cowardice. If it is, I'd rather see a world of "cowards" living in peace and friendship than a world of "heroes" maiming and slaughtering each other. One need not apologize for loving peace and human brotherhood.

When the country was drifting towards the war I became active in the peace movement. Many had entertained the belief that a strong movement for peace would compel President Wilson to carry out his campaign pledge to keep us out of war. Though I never voted for Wilson I admired him for his scholarliness and for his professed opposition to war. When he began to drive the country into the war, shortly after his re-election in 1916, it seemed almost unbelievable to me. I applied myself wholeheartedly to the peace movement and assisted in the creation of the People's Council for Peace and Democracy. When a name for the council was considered I proposed the above name and it was accepted.

A peace convention was called to be held in Minneapolis, which had a Socialist mayor. But the mayor was unable to assure protection to the convention, and it was moved to Chicago. We were able to meet there because of the politics played by the mayor of that city with the governor of the state. One spite-move in the mayor's political chess game was permission to hold our convention. After one session was politely closed by the police, we were allowed by the mayor to reconvene, and the governor sent state troops to disperse us. But we were able to conclude our business and adjourn before the troops arrived. The first casualties in the war against German autocracy were the civil rights of the American people.

The tragic situation was not without its humorous side. That was furnished by the secret service agents. They did their job so clumsily that they almost announced themselves every time they appeared amongst us. We always seemed to recognize them. While we were sad because of the general condi-

tions we frequently had a hearty laugh at the silly stunts of the secret service men. Of course, the People's Council did not accomplish its purpose. America fought in the war, whose effect has been to make the world safe for dictatorships.

The war-time postal regulations imposed great hardships upon our publications. There, too, bureaucratic arbitrariness sometimes both annoyed and amused. I wrote an editorial for the *Advance* entitled "Wanted: An American Labor Movement." The issue of the *Advance* containing that editorial was banned by the Post Office; it never reached our members. Postal authorities considered criticism of labor movement officials inimical to the interest of the war. The Yiddish *Fortschritt* carried a translation of that editorial. The original *Advance* article was filed with the Post Office as the English translation of the *Fortschritt* article. While the *Advance* with the original article was excluded from the mails the *Fortschritt* with the translated article was accepted.

The Amalgamated made great progress in the war years. It increased its membership, improved wages and reduced the work week. A general strike in Chicago was unproductive of immediate material results, but yielded great moral gains and paved the way towards complete unionization a few years later.

At our third convention, Baltimore 1918, the General Executive Board reported the establishment of the 48-hour week. That was the realization of a great dream. In a state of exaltation the convention declared the 44-hour week as its next objective. The most optimistic ones amongst us did not expect that to come before long. But it came within eight months.

The employers in all industries were eagerly looking forward to the "deflation of labor" after the war—the breaking down of standards and the destruction of unions. The employers in the clothing industry were probably justified in their belief that they could "liquidate" the Amalgamated. The workers in this industry had never been effectively organized before. It was probably not unreasonable to assume that war conditions alone were responsible for the Amalgamated. With mil-

lions of military uniforms to produce and thousands of young men taken from the industry to the army there was a scarcity of labor, which was only partly met by the drafting of women workers into the industry. Labor conditions improved accordingly. The ending of the war was expected to reverse the situation. With the production of rush-order army uniforms coming to a sudden stop and the returning soldiers crowding into an already glutted labor market there would be an ideal condition for "deflating" labor, and an excellent opportunity for employers to show their "patriotism" by giving preference to the soldiers.

On the day that the first and false armistice report came from France, November 9th, 1918, the New York employers locked out our members. When the true armistice report came the lockout was two days old. As the drafted clothing workers were discharged from the army and returned home they went direct to the picket lines, with their uniforms on. The employers protested to the government. The returned soldiers took off the uniforms but stayed on the picket line. Before long the employers made peace with the Amalgamated. The new contract contained a clause providing for the 44-hour week. The test showed that the Amalgamated was no war accident.

The news spread instantly throughout the clothing industry. One market after the other, large and small, was unionized. The Amalgamated became an accepted institution in the industry.

That was at the beginning of 1919. At the end of 1920, the New York employers instituted a second lockout, which was extended to Boston and Baltimore. We were locked out in three markets at the same time. There were numerous injunctions, and damage suits for vast sums of money against the Amalgamated; also one suit for the dissolution of the Amalgamated as an illegal organization. The General Executive Board issued a call to the working members for a million-dollar defense fund; we collected two million dollars. At one of the court hearings the attorney for the employers called out to

us: "Tear out the Preamble from your constitution and we will sign an agreement with you!" We did not tear out the Preamble but an agreement was signed with us, at the end of a six-month fight. All suits were discontinued; no damages were paid; the Amalgamated was not dissolved.

Before the lockout ended Senator Moses of New Hampshire brought into the Senate a resolution to investigate the Amalgamated. When Senator Borah of Idaho proposed that the scope of the investigation be widened to include the whole industry, and also the woolen mills, the resolution vanished.

The brief depression of 1921 was followed by a few good years. Several trade unions extended their activities to outside fields—banks, finance institutions, housing. With very few exceptions labor banking has been a failure. Fortunately the two Amalgamated banks are among the exceptions. Those activities were hailed by many people as "trade union capitalism." Those people thought that at last Capital and Labor were really partners, with identical economic interests; that the labor movement itself was becoming capitalistic, and that the class struggle was liquidated. Those who spoke of "trade union capitalism" probably did not know that the labor banks made no difference in the workers' wages and in the insecurity of their jobs. "Trade union capitalism" did not change the status of the wage worker. Lockouts, strikes, injunctions and imprisonment of strike pickets went on despite "trade union capitalism." The lockout of our members by a very large firm in Chicago and New York in 1925 took place after the establishment of our banks in those cities. The class struggle was unaware of "trade union capitalism."

The two outstanding achievements of the Amalgamated are: 1) the organization of the clothing workers; 2) the elimination of the sweatshop. We used to speak of the *abolition* of the sweatshop. I shall probably never use that word again in this connection. I know now that we have not abolished the sweatshop, and I am afraid we never shall under the present social-economic setup. We may drive it out from the organized centers. But the sweatshop employer will never stop looking for an

opportunity to bring it back. The high-powered motor car, on the hard road, which has thrown railroad workers out of jobs, brought the sweatshop back into the clothing industry. The employers who were unable to ply their sweatshop trade in New York and other organized centers found the new transportation system cheap, speedy and convenient for their purposes.

The small communities were made the home of the new sweatshop, which was worse than the old one. The sweatshop of the previous generation was in big cities with big-city living standards, and had comparatively little child labor. The new sweatshop, which appeared in the depression years, was based chiefly on child labor. American born children were the new labor supply brought into the clothing industry at a time when many thousands of heads of families were idle. The wages, two dollars and less for a 50 to 60 hour week, were much lower than the sweatshop wages of three decades ago. The immigrant sweatshop worker in the past had to earn enough to support his family after some fashion. The wages of the American born child in the new sweatshop only served to supplement the relief money that the family was receiving from the public treasury or private charity institution. We have organized the new sweatshop workers and brought radical changes in their conditions of work. But let us not delude ourselves by our success and rest on our laurels. The sweatshop is a disease. It is kept out from our industrial household only so long as we are able to enforce our protective measures. If our enforcement powers should weaken, the sweatshop disease will return. Only eternal vigilance on the part of a strong union will guard us against it. The return of the sweatshop is a standing challenge to us.

The history of the Amalgamated is one of continuous struggle, and primarily for the right to organize. It takes might to win that right, and it takes still more might to hold it. To name a clothing center is to name a battle ground. New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Rochester, Buffalo, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Hamil-

ton, Toronto, Montreal are only the best known centers. The same struggle went on in nearly all of the smaller localities from coast to coast. The large-scale battles in recent years were in 1929 in Philadelphia, and in the depression years in various shirt centers, particularly in Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, where the new sweatshop had been established. In Philadelphia a judge issued a drastic injunction against us. It found an echo in the U. S. Senate, where Senator La Follette of Wisconsin introduced a resolution for an investigation. Despite the injunction we won the strike and the Philadelphia market was unionized. We fought in the depression years with no less vigor than in "normal" times. When the National Recovery legislation was enacted we used our organized power to make it beneficial to our members.

I visited Europe in 1920 and in 1930 and saw the European labor movement at close range. That has given me a better understanding of the international scene. Such an understanding is essential now because of the increasing national animosities.

In 1871, when the French bourgeoisie was smarting under its crushing defeat by the Prussian army, it wreaked vengeance upon the defenseless workers of Paris. It slaughtered many thousands of them and drowned the Paris Commune in their blood. The horror of that tragedy lay for a long time like a nightmare upon the workers in France and in all of Europe. That was followed by the Bismarck terror against the German labor movement, with its exceptional laws. Slowly the workers arose and began to form their lines. There was hope. There was faith. For a quarter of a century there were progress and growth. Then came a terrific explosion. A pistol shot in Sarajevo blew up the large powder magazine that was Europe, and the world war was on. Labor's twenty-five-year-old International was among the first casualties.

After the war efforts were made to reunite the shattered lines of the international labor movement. One of those efforts was a Congress of the International Clothing Workers' Federation in August, 1920, in Copenhagen. I attended the Congress. The

war wounds were still open. One of the French delegates refused to shake hands with Stuhmer, a veteran of the German labor movement, and one of the founders of the clothing workers' International.

I visited a number of countries, from Estonia in the north to Italy in the south. I was eager to visit Soviet Russia, but could not obtain a visa.

When I returned home, I was active in the movement for American trade with Soviet Russia; also for the recognition of the Soviet government. I devoted much time and energy to the raising of funds among our members for famine sufferers in Soviet Russia in 1921. When the Russian American Industrial Corporation was organized by the Amalgamated I worked for it with enthusiasm.

In 1930 I obtained a Soviet visa without difficulty. But because of my very strenuous travels in other parts of the world before coming to Berlin for the visa, my physician warned me against further strain and insisted that I go back home and rest. I was keenly disappointed. I am still hoping to see Soviet Russia. I take no part in Soviet politics, but I am deeply interested in the progress of that great country. And I am looking hopefully to the time when the Russian workers will clasp hands with all other workers as members of one and an all-inclusive world organization of labor. The peace of the world and the labor movements of the world must have Soviet Russia.

Elsewhere in this volume I discuss certain phases of the labor movements abroad. Space does not permit further discussion. But I must say a word about the highly interesting Jewish labor movement in Palestine, which, I saw in 1930. It is the only labor movement in the world that has deliberately assumed, and is successfully carrying out, the upbuilding of a neglected and wasted land. It is the only instance in history of an organized working class building up a nation. The Jewish labor movement in Palestine has the highest percentage of organized workers in the world, above eighty per cent. It guides the life of the workers in the city and in the country.

The agricultural labor colonies are without masters and without servants. All work cooperatively. The Histadruth, which is the Hebrew name of the labor federation, represents the collective authority of the highly organized Jewish working class in that country. There the dignity of labor is a reality. In the cooperative labor colonies the New Social Order is a fact.

The panorama of history reveals strange facts, such as the following: About 150 years ago the revolutionary government of the United States was begging the Russian government for recognition. It took America a long time to get it. In our time the revolutionary government of Russia begged the United States Government for recognition. It took Russia a long time to get it. In 1871 William I, King of Prussia, was proclaimed the first German Emperor, in the Palace of Versailles, France, in the presence of the victorious Prussian army. In 1919 the representatives of a defeated Germany signed, in the same Versailles palace, the most humiliating treaty of peace. In the 80's Wilhelm Liebknecht fought Bismarck and built the powerful Social Democratic Party of Germany, the strongest socialist party in the world. When the political revolution was carried out in Germany in 1919 and a republic was established, with the Social Democrats in power, Wilhelm Liebknecht's son, the famous Karl, was assassinated.

Thus, neither statesmen nor leaders of labor can make long-range predictions. The triumphant enthroning of the first Wilhelm in the camp of the defeated enemy was the first step towards the dethroning of the second Wilhelm at home. The very success of the labor movement activities of the elder Liebknecht led to the murder of the younger Liebknecht. It is easier to have a united labor movement when its fight is for the attainment of power, and against an external enemy; it is harder when power is attained and the fight over its use is amongst "enemies" within the movement. That was what happened in Germany. That was also substantially the case in Italy. Since the war the labor movement has been confronted with a new problem: how to preserve labor movement unity

after the attainment of power. This is no theoretical abstraction. Though in some of the most important countries the labor movements are at present either wiped out or underground, we have faith that they will come back. The few historical illustrations given above are enough to show that changes come, rather speedily, and that they do not have the habit of announcing themselves too soon.

In our swiftly moving age no one can say what the next day may bring. Some people think that Hitlerism will force a new world war, which will destroy civilization. That is possible. But it is also possible that Hitlerism will bring about its own downfall much sooner. That will mean the re-creation of the labor movement. The new German labor movement will be different from the old one. It is impossible that the tragic lessons of the past should be lost in the future. Just what the new labor movement will be like will depend upon the forces within the movement. The future of all labor movements, including the American, lies in their own laps. It will be just what they will make it. In view of the events in recent times the organized workers of the world should realize that the supreme mission of the labor movement is to end all class rule and inaugurate a free economic society. The labor movements, which will emerge from the ruins of nazism, fascism and general reaction will be, as they must be, militant movements.

The world labor movement will create a new human type—a worker who is spiritually and intellectually free. That will be the supreme achievement of the labor movement. Such workers must be the builders of a social order without human exploitation. The labor movement must be its own architect and its own master builder. Only then will the motto *Labor Omnia Vincit*—labor conquers all things—become true.

An enlightened and organized working class will make the world free.